

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE



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WEEKLY RECORD
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UNITED STATES
FOREIGN POLICY**

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Bulletin

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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, Bureau of Public Affairs, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, United Nations documents, and legislative material in the field of international relations are listed currently.

Foreign Ministers Continue Geneva Talks; Adjourn for Funeral of John Foster Dulles

The Foreign Ministers Conference met in plenary session on May 25 and 26¹ and then recessed for 2 days to permit the Foreign Ministers to attend funeral services for former Secretary Dulles at Washington on May 27. Following are statements made by Secretary Herter at Geneva, together with other statements relating to the death of Mr. Dulles and the trip to Washington.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER, MAY 25

During the past 2 weeks and again today Foreign Minister Gromyko has attempted to depict the German Federal Government as a revanchist and militaristic government intent upon precipitating a third world war.

These allegations resurrect old fears and bygone hatreds. They represent an attempt to confuse our present deliberations by attributing to the Federal Republic motives of another period.

The Government of the Federal Republic has frequently explained the basis of its policy. It has renounced the use of force in the settlement of international disputes. For example, at the time that the Federal Republic entered NATO and the Brussels treaties, its Government affirmed that it

... will refrain from any action inconsistent with the strictly defensive character of the two treaties. In particular the German Federal Republic undertakes never to have recourse to force to achieve the reunification of Germany or the modification of the present

¹ For statements made by Mr. Herter during the first 2 weeks of the Foreign Ministers Conference at Geneva, see BULLETIN of June 1, 1959, p. 775, and June 8, 1959, p. 819.

boundaries of the German Federal Republic and to resolve by peaceful means any disputes which may arise between the Federal Republic and other states.

This renunciation of the use of force in the pursuit of national aims is an expression of considerations which have been summarized by Chancellor Adenauer as follows in a statement he made in Moscow on September 9, 1955:

The most precious possession that every German is intent on safeguarding is peace. We know only too well how much the Soviet and German peoples in particular suffered during the last war, and I therefore believe that I shall find your understanding if I say that the horror of the destruction which would be wrought by a modern war, of the millions of human sacrifices, of the razing of homes and factories, of the devastation of town and countryside, has left its indelible mark on each and every one of us.

We know in Germany, too, that the scientific and technical progress achieved since the last war in the field of nuclear fission and other related fields has put possibilities of destruction into the hand of man, the mere thought of which causes one to shudder. After all, everyone in Germany knows that the geographic position of our country would jeopardize us to the highest degree in the case of an armed conflict.

For this reason, you will find nobody in Germany—not only among responsible political leaders but also in the entire population—who remotely toys with the thought that any one of the major political problems awaiting solution could be solved by war. The longing which has gripped humanity that war may have outlived itself by its own dreadfulness—that longing is deeply and strongly rooted in the heart of every German.

An examination of the record of the conduct of the Federal Republic of Germany clearly shows how consistently it has applied the principles to which it has subscribed to the conduct of its foreign relations. By a series of painstaking negotiations it has sought to settle the differences with its neighbors by peaceful means. An ex-

ample of this policy, which might well serve as a model for us here today because of its use of a plebiscite as a means of determining the popular will, is the Saar settlement negotiated by the French and German Governments. This settlement eliminated a serious source of friction which has embittered French-German relations for generations. The Federal Government has sought to resolve other matters in dispute by negotiation. Problems involving minorities along the German-Danish border have been successfully worked out. Frontier problems with Belgium and Switzerland have also been solved. These examples illustrate how the Federal Republic has translated into practice the principles of peaceful settlement to which she has subscribed.

Another expression of the awareness of the importance of peaceful settlement and cooperation between states, reflected by the statement of Chancellor Adenauer quoted above, has been the role which the Federal Republic has played in the development of European cooperation. The Federal Republic has throughout its existence consistently supported the development of closer ties between European nations. She has strongly supported and participated in such international institutions as the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, the Coal and Steel Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community. These associations with other states have increased the economic and cultural ties which have knit the Federal Republic closely into the European community. Such close association naturally increasingly reduces the chances that the German people will launch themselves upon unilateral adventures.

In response to ominous developments in Berlin, in Eastern Europe, and the Far East, the Federal Republic has joined as a partner in arrangements for the defense of the free world. The Federal Republic has developed its defense forces as a member of the Western collective security system. Such a collective security system, by its structure, organization, and the interdependence of its members, provides an important guarantee against any member state having independent recourse to the threat or use of force. The system insures the security of all Germany's neighbors, of Germany itself, and of Europe as a whole. It represents an important guarantee against the revival of German militarism. In this connection also one should not overlook the care with which

the Parliament of the German Federal Republic framed the laws for the establishment of the German defense force. An examination of this legislation will show how thoroughly it provides for the civilian control of the military establishment. An interesting and significant feature is the law which sets up a civilian committee to review the appointment of higher officers of the German army.

The examples which I have cited are far from exhaustive. But they suffice, I think, to illustrate how false are the charges which the Soviet Union levels against the German Federal Republic.

STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER, MAY 26

At our 10th session on May 22, the Foreign Minister of France discussed the general nature of the proposals regarding Berlin contained in the Western peace plan² and the reasons which led us to include those proposals in the plan. We have thought in this connection that it would be helpful to the Soviet delegation if we spelled out, in some detail, the manner in which these suggestions for the reunification of the Greater Berlin area could be put into effect. This will enable us to discuss the proposals in terms of the practical problems which will arise in carrying out the reunification of the city rather than in terms of abstract objections thereto.

The outline which we are suggesting should not, of course, be regarded by the Soviet delegation as fixed or final. There are clearly a substantial number of matters which will have to be developed further and some which undoubtedly could be improved through our joint consideration. We shall, therefore, welcome the comments of the Soviet Foreign Minister on these more detailed proposals, which are as follows:

Details of Western Proposals

I. Two weeks after the entry into force of the agreement among the Four Powers on the Western peace plan, the Four Powers would issue a joint proclamation in Berlin providing that:

A. Pending the reunification of Germany,

² For text, see *ibid.*, June 8, 1959, p. 779. For a Department memorandum on the legal aspects of the Berlin situation, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 5.

Greater Berlin, as defined in the Protocol on the Zones of Occupation in Germany and the Administration of "Greater Berlin," agreed in the European Advisory Commission on September 12, 1944, as subsequently amended, would be governed and administered as one indivisible area.

B. Elections for a Berlin constitutional council would be held 60 days after the issuance of the proclamation pursuant to the following provisions:

1. The constitutional council would consist of 100 members elected by universal, free, secret, and direct ballot.

2. Greater Berlin would consist of one electoral district in which elections would be conducted according to the principle of proportional representation.

3. Nomination lists would be submitted by political parties which participated in the last municipal election in either West or East Berlin.

4. All German citizens who on the day of the election had passed their 20th birthday and had had their domicile in Berlin for a minimum period of 6 months would have the right to vote.

5. All persons having the right to vote and having passed their 25th birthday on the day of the election could stand for election.

6. Appropriate measures would be agreed to insure freedom of elections.

7. The constitutional council, which would assemble 1 week after the election, would draft, within 60 days, a constitution for Greater Berlin and an electoral law. The draft constitution and the electoral law would be submitted for approval of the people of Berlin in a plebiscite, safeguarded in the same manner as agreed under paragraph 6, to be held within 30 days after completion of the drafting of the constitution and the electoral law. The constitution and the electoral law would come into effect if approved by a majority of those voting.

II. The Four Powers would, if the constitution were approved by the people of Berlin, issue within 1 week after such plebiscite a proclamation declaring:

- A. The coming into force of the constitution.

- B. That the city would be governed in accordance with the terms of the constitution, and the governmental authorities selected pursuant to its provisions would have full authority in Berlin except that:

1. The Four Powers would continue to be entitled to maintain forces in Berlin and to insure the security of these forces. The level of these forces could be the subject of an agreement between the Four Powers.

2. The Four Powers could, by unanimous action taken within 30 days after enactment, declare null and void or suspend the operation of legislation enacted pursuant to the constitution, but this right normally would be exercised only when necessary in the following fields:

- (a) Disarmament and demilitarization, including related fields of scientific research, prohibition and restrictions on industry and civil aviation;

- (b) Relations with authorities abroad;

- (c) Protection, prestige, and security of Allied forces, dependents, employees, and representatives, their immunities and other requirements.

III. The Four Powers would agree that free and unrestricted access to Berlin, by land, by water, and by air, should be assured for all persons, goods, and communications.

IV. A. The Four Powers would deal with the Berlin government on all matters relating to the presence of the forces of the Four Powers in Berlin.

B. Military police patrols consisting of a member of the force of each power would be established to deal with all incidents involving military personnel subject to the right of the Berlin municipal police to take emergency action respecting breaches of the peace.

V. A. The Berlin government would be empowered to put into effect in Berlin any proposals of the mixed German committee which are put into effect in both parts of Germany, to the extent that such proposals are applicable to Berlin.

B. The citizens of Berlin would be entitled to participate in the all-German elections to be held upon the coming into force of the German electoral law.

VI. Upon the adoption of the German constitution and establishment of an all-German government, Berlin would become the capital of reunified Germany. The all-German government would be entitled to make such changes in the governmental organization of Berlin as may be requisite in view of that change in status.

VII. Upon the coming into force of the peace treaty, the stationing of forces of the Four

Powers will be subject to the provisions contained in the treaty respecting the stationing of foreign troops in Germany.

Status of Berlin

Mr. Couve de Murville on Friday also discussed the statement of the Soviet Foreign Minister that Greater Berlin is the capital, and on the territory of, the so-called German Democratic Republic.

The French Foreign Minister very ably established that this statement is not well founded. This seems, however, to be a point which is troublesome to the Soviet Union in view of the fact that Mr. Gromyko has on several occasions asserted that Berlin is on the territory of the so-called German Democratic Republic.

Accordingly, it may be helpful to the Soviet delegation if I also review the matter.

Greater Berlin is an area which was jointly occupied in 1945 by France, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. The city has been and remains subject to the authority of the Four Powers and the status of either the whole city or any part thereof cannot be altered without the consent of the Four Powers.

Protocol on Germany and Berlin

The Soviet delegation will undoubtedly recall the European Advisory Commission, which was established by the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union at the Moscow conference in October 1943, agreed upon a Protocol on the Zones of Occupation in Germany and the Administration of "Greater Berlin" on September 12, 1944, to which I have referred previously this afternoon.

On November 14, 1944, agreement was reached regarding certain amendments to the protocol of September 12. The Soviet representative on the European Advisory Commission gave notification that the Soviet Government approved the agreement regarding amendments on February 6, 1945. The United Kingdom had previously approved the protocol and amendments on December 5, 1944, and the United States on February 2, 1945.

On July 26, 1945, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the U.S.S.R. entered into an agreement with the Provisional Government of the French Republic regarding amendments to the protocol of September 12, 1944, which served

to include France in the occupation of Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin. The Soviet representative on the European Advisory Commission gave notice that his Government approved this agreement on August 13, 1945. The United States approved on July 29, 1945; the United Kingdom approved on August 2, 1945, and the French Government approved on August 7, 1945.

The protocol, in its final form, provides:

1. Germany, within her frontiers as they were on 31st December 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into four zones, one of which will be allotted to each of the four Powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the four Powers.

The protocol then specifies the geographical boundaries of each zone and provides for the division of the territory of Greater Berlin, which "will be jointly occupied by the armed forces" of the Four Powers, into four parts.

Paragraph 5 of the protocol provides:

5. An Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Komendatura) consisting of four Commandants, appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the "Greater Berlin" Area.

It should be borne in mind that the only changes in the protocol subsequent to February 6, 1945, when it came into force, were the amendments relating to the French occupation rights.

Agreement on Allied Control Machinery

The relationship of the occupying powers in Germany was further clarified by the work of the European Advisory Commission in connection with the agreement on control machinery in Germany. On November 14, 1944, an agreement was reached in the Commission with regard to the organization of the allied control machinery in Germany in the period during which Germany would be carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender. On May 1, 1945, agreement was reached to include the Provisional Government of the French Republic in the control agreement.

This agreement, in its final form, provides that:

Supreme authority in Germany will be exercised on instructions from their respective Governments, by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Provisional Govern-

Foreign Ministers Express Condolences on Death of Former Secretary Dulles

Following is a statement made on May 25 at the Foreign Ministers Conference at Geneva by Secretary Herter, who was in the chair, together with remarks made in response to his statement by the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Press release 366 dated May 27

Secretary Herter

I should like to express to my colleagues of France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union my appreciation for their thoughtful understanding of the situation created here by the death of my great predecessor, John Foster Dulles.

I am most grateful for the fact that Mr. Gromyko, along with Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Couve de Murville, has agreed to a 2-day recess in the conference—Wednesday and Thursday [May 27 and 28]—so that some of us might fly to Washington for the funeral services.

Whatever our approaches to the problems now under discussion, I feel sure we are agreed that the world has lost a senior statesman whose personification of integrity, energy, and devotion will long remain as an inspiration to work for peace with justice.

Maurice Couve de Murville of France

Mr. Chairman, with your permission I would like to address myself to you, sir, as Secretary of State and chief of the United States delegation, to express to you and to your delegation the very sincere condolences on behalf of the French delegation and on my personal behalf in connection with the passing away of Mr. Dulles.

It is with great admiration and also with deep emotion that in the course of the long weeks which preceded his death we followed his struggle against the terrible illness which afflicted him. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that the day when the inevitable occurred, although it was expected, we have learned this news with great emotion.

Our sympathy in your loss and the loss sustained by the American Nation and Mrs. Dulles is very sincere, and I wish to express it to you.

Selwyn Lloyd of Great Britain

Mr. Chairman, I have already spoken elsewhere more formally about the death of Mr. John Foster Dulles, and I would only wish to add this. For over 6 years, since January 1953, I have by virtue of various official posts been very closely associated with him. His views have not always been accepted by all those around this table any more than we all of us now agree upon solutions to the basic problems before us. Nevertheless, I do believe that there would be common agreement as to his genuine desire for peace, his belief in the necessity of solving the problems dividing us, his courage, his dedication to what he thought was right, and his determination to accept the demands which were placed upon his own physical strength.

What constitutes greatness may be a matter for argument, but in my belief Mr. John Foster Dulles was a great man, a good man, and I am proud to have been associated with him for so long and to have enjoyed his friendship.

There is, I think, among all of us around this table a sense of poignancy in this meeting because we know that he had very much hoped to have taken part in it himself.

Therefore, with a profound sense of sympathy for Mrs. Dulles and for the United States administration and for the whole American people, I say today how much we, the British delegation, regret his passing.

Andrei Gromyko of the U.S.S.R.

To you, as Secretary of State of the United States, I would like to express once again, utilizing our meeting for so doing, our deep sympathy on the passing away of the former Secretary of State of the United States, whom I have had occasion to have known over a long period of time, for some 15 years. Thank you.

In concluding the session, Secretary Herter expressed gratitude for the statements made and said that these statements would be conveyed to the American people and to Mrs. Dulles.

ment of the French Republic, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole, in their capacity as members of the supreme organ of control constituted under the present Agreement.

It also provides, with respect to Berlin (article 7(a)):

June 15, 1959

An Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Komendatura) consisting of four Commandants, one from each Power, appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the "Greater Berlin" area. Each of the Commandants will serve in rotation, in the position of Chief Commandant, as head of the Inter-Allied Governing Authority.

It is clear from these agreements that Berlin

was treated as an area entirely separate from any of the zones of occupation and the supreme authority which each commander in chief exercised in his zone was in Berlin replaced by a joint authority shared by all four commanders in chief and which was exercised through the Kommandatura.

Soviets Support Agreement

Although proof in support of this obvious conclusion is unnecessary, the records of the European Advisory Commission furnish ample evidence of the fact that the Soviet Union considered the effect of these agreements to be as I have stated. For example, on June 29, 1944, the Soviet representative submitted a draft protocol in the Commission which defined the proposed Soviet zone of occupation in detail, specifically excepted Berlin therefrom, and provided a special system of occupation for the city. I am able to make copies of this proposal available to the delegations which desire them.

Statements of the Soviet representative in the Commission meetings confirm the meaning of the agreements. On July 5, 1944, the Soviet representative said:

By the Soviet proposal, Berlin was to be jointly occupied. For this purpose it would be divided into three zones. At the same time, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, it would be provided in the protocol that there should be a joint tripartite administration of the Berlin area. It was obvious that the services of the Berlin area should be treated as a whole and not piecemeal by three separate authorities. This applied, for example, to the city transport (trams, underground) and the water and electricity supply. The main power stations or the main water supply might, for example, be located in one particular zone.

For this reason, a joint governing authority and a joint technical machinery had been proposed that the common services and utilities should be at the disposal of the three allies and used in their interests on equal terms. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that the main purpose for which the troops would be in Berlin was military occupation.

Soviet Disruptions of Quadripartite Control

The quadripartite control of Berlin was disrupted on July 1, 1948, when the Soviets announced they would no longer take part in meetings of the Kommandatura. By this date, of

course, the Soviet Union had begun the blockade of Berlin.

Since that time the Kommandatura has continued to function on a tripartite basis. The Soviets have, in violation of their agreements, set up and maintained a separate regime in the sector of Berlin occupied by them.

The action of the Soviet Union in withdrawing from the joint administration of the city in breach of their obligations has not and cannot affect the status of Greater Berlin as an area under joint occupation which is separate and distinct from any other areas in Germany. The right of the Four Powers to be in occupation of Berlin derives fundamentally from the unconditional surrender of Germany and the assumption of supreme authority by the Four Powers on June 5, 1945. One of the Four Powers acting unilaterally could not impair the rights of the other three.

The corollary to these undeniable facts is that all of the territory of Greater Berlin was and is separate and distinct from the territory over which the Soviet Union asserts the so-called German Democratic Republic exercises control.

The so-called German Democratic Republic is entirely the creation of the Soviet Union. It has no authority except that delegated to it by the Soviet Union. It has no mandate except from the Soviet Union. It cannot, therefore, have something which the Soviet Union is powerless to give it. And nothing would be more self-evident than that the Soviet Union cannot by itself dispose of the territory of Greater Berlin in whole or in part.

The Government of the United States has been confirmed in its belief that the Soviet Union recognizes these facts in its dealings with the sector of Berlin which it occupies.

It is to be noted, for example, that the East German law of September 24, 1958, concerning elections to the Peoples' Chamber of the so-called German Democratic Republic provides for a different and limited status with respect to the 66 representatives of East Berlin to that Chamber.

Moreover, it is to be noted that laws enacted in the so-called German Democratic Republic are not regarded even by the East German authorities as automatically becoming law in East Berlin. A special procedure is followed to make the laws applicable, as is entirely clear from documents readily available.

In addition, it is well known that as a practical

matter the Greater Berlin area has, in fact, been recognized as an area different from the area of the so-called German Democratic Republic. For example, whereas checkpoint controls are maintained between East Berlin and East Germany, there is freedom of movement within Greater Berlin.

It is clear from the foregoing that the legal obstacles to the reunification of Berlin, which the Soviet Foreign Minister has cited, do not really exist. If he is prepared to do so, we could proceed to a discussion of our detailed proposals, which would make clear their far-reaching significance for the peace and prosperity of the people of Berlin.

ARRIVAL STATEMENTS, MAY 27³

Secretary Herter

I return from the Foreign Ministers Conference at Geneva to attend the funeral services for my great predecessor, John Foster Dulles. The Foreign Ministers of France and the United Kingdom, who have flown with me to Washington, and the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union have understandingly agreed to recess the Geneva conference for 2 days so that all four of us could pay our homage to the statesman who fought so courageously for peace with justice.

The Foreign Ministers Conference has made only small progress after more than 2 weeks of discussion. This accords with the realistic estimate I gave in my report to the Nation on May 7.⁴ It is possible, however, that each side has now a better idea of the other's thinking.

I shall return tomorrow [May 28] to Geneva with my colleagues of France, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. It is my hope that in the negotiating sessions that lie ahead sufficient progress can be made to justify the United States in going to a summit conference.

British Foreign Secretary Selwyn Lloyd

It is a sad thing for me that the occasion of this visit to Washington should be to attend the fu-

³ Made at Washington National Airport (press release 367).

⁴ BULLETIN of May 25, 1959, p. 735.

neral of my friend and colleague, Mr. John Foster Dulles.

I remember many occasions during the past 2 years when he has welcomed me here at this airfield. I come here on behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom and the whole British people to pay our tribute to a great man—a fine man—and to extend our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Dulles, to his family, and to the whole people of the United States. And I add to that a deep sense of personal loss.

French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville

I would like to say how deeply the French Government and the French people share the sorrow of Mrs. John Foster Dulles, of the United States Government, and of the American people. I think it is proper that the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva should have recessed for a short time to let us, thanks to the generous hospitality of Secretary Herter, come to Washington to pay a last tribute to John Foster Dulles. This will be done, for my part, in the spirit of that long friendship which unites France and the United States and to the strengthening of which the late Secretary of State contributed so much.

STATEMENT BY JAMES C. HAGERTY, MAY 28⁵

White House press release dated May 28

This morning the President, with Secretary Herter present, received the Foreign Ministers of France, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The President said that he had followed the Geneva conference proceedings with close attention, remaining in constant contact with Secretary Herter. He expressed the hope that the thorough exchange of views that is taking place there would lead to a better approach to the solution of the problems that confront us in Europe. He, of course, stressed the necessity of finding peaceful solutions to our problems.

The President likewise expressed the hope that on their return to Geneva the Foreign Ministers

⁵ Read to news correspondents by Mr. Hagerty, who is Press Secretary to the President.

would be able to achieve that measure of progress which would make a subsequent meeting of Heads of Government desirable and useful.

DEPARTURE STATEMENT BY SECRETARY HERTER, MAY 28*

We are about to leave for Geneva for a resumption of the Four Power talks which have been taking place there in an effort to solve some of the problems inherent in the German situation. Until now we have merely exchanged views with respect to our particular proposals and we have not found any specific points on which one might say we could reach agreement. However, as we leave Washington the four Foreign Ministers will be traveling together by plane, and it is hoped that during the exchanges that will be taking place during this trip we may perhaps find some more hopeful avenues of accord which we can develop when we get to Geneva.

I have never been overoptimistic with respect to the outcome of these conversations. On the other hand, I still have hopes that we can find sufficient progress as a result of our discussions to justify accomplishment within the Foreign Ministers Conference itself and fruitful avenues to be pursued at a later summit conference.

U.S. Calls on Soviets To Cease Threats of Unilateral Action

Following is a statement made to news correspondents on May 25 by Lincoln White, Chief of the News Division, concerning a Soviet note of May 23 which again criticizes measures for modernizing NATO defenses, together with the text of the Soviet note.

STATEMENT BY MR. WHITE

I have a statement on the Soviet note of May 23. There is nothing new in the Soviet note of May 23. It repeats Soviet criticism of the legitimate defense measures which have been under-

* Made at Washington National Airport upon departure with the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R. for resumption of the Geneva talks (press release 374).

taken by the NATO countries. This criticism has already been effectively answered by the communique of the North Atlantic Council of May 7 and by the note of the United States of May 8.¹ We see no need for carrying on the correspondence.

This decision by NATO countries, which is, of course, not new, that they cannot rely for their defense on arms of the preatomic age while Soviet forces are being equipped with the most modern weapons is not in any sense a threat to the peace, as the Soviet Government alleges. It is rather the continued misrepresentation of the motives which underlie this decision that adds to international tension.

We share the view which the Soviet Government expresses in its note that actions which cause tension should be avoided at this time when important negotiations are under way in Geneva. In this connection it would be helpful if the Soviet Government would cease its threats of unilateral action with regard to the problems under discussion—threats which have been repeated within the past few days by high Soviet spokesmen. As Secretary of State Herter has made clear in Geneva, such threats can scarcely improve the chances of successful negotiations at any level.

TEXT OF SOVIET NOTE

Unofficial translation

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America and referring to the Embassy's note No. 958 of May 8, 1959, has the honor on instruction of its Government to state the following.

In the note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. of April 21² the attention of the Government of the United States was drawn to information which has appeared recently that the United States of America is taking measures to hasten the nuclear and missile armament of certain countries—members of NATO, and to speed up the implementation of plans for locating missile bases on the territories of these countries. The Soviet Government has observed that measures of this kind in relation to certain NATO countries, and in particular the Federal Republic of Germany, will involve extremely dangerous consequences for the cause of peace and are incompatible with those tasks which stand before the Conference of Foreign Ministers and the conference at the summit.

As is apparent from the note of the U.S. Embassy, the fact of the implementation of the above-mentioned meas-

¹ For texts, see BULLETIN of May 25, 1959, p. 739.

² *Ibid.*, p. 741.

ures is not denied. In its note the Government of the United States of America in essence openly declares its intention also in the future to carry on a policy of equipping with nuclear and missile weapons the countries of NATO and in the first rank the Federal Republic of Germany. The supply of these weapons to the Federal Republic of Germany, where militarism and revenge aspirations are being strongly revived, represents in itself a threat to the security of European states and a direct challenge to all peace-loving peoples.

In the note of the U.S. Embassy an attempt is made to portray these measures as defensive, and it is asserted that they have not been timed especially for the Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, but "are a result of long-term NATO policy." However, this does not change the aggressive essence of the said measures and, therefore, they not only cannot serve the objectives of improving the international situation, but, on the contrary, can lead to a serious aggravation of the relations between countries.

Surprise also results from the attempt contained in the note of the Embassy to regard the proposals of the Soviet Union on the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and on the peaceful solution of the Berlin question as supposedly directed toward an aggravation of the situation and in this way to draw attention away from the measures of the Western Powers for the creation of ever new bases of missile and nuclear weapons, which really lead to a worsening between the relations between states. It is scarcely necessary to prove that at a time when Soviet proposals set as their goal the normalization of the situation in Central Europe and the elimination of the threat of the outbreak of a military conflict in this area the measures of the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic bloc, by thus poisoning the international atmosphere, are leading to a strengthening of the war danger.

The Soviet Government again expresses the hope that the Government of the United States will consider the views expressed in the present note and will refrain from actions which lead to an increase in international tension. This is especially important at the present moment when our states have entered into a period of negotiations for the solution of the sharpest international problems in the interest of strengthening peace and assuring security.

Moscow, May 23, 1959

U.S. Deplores Soviet Threats Against Greece, Italy, and Iran

Department Statement

Press release 378 dated May 29

During his visit to Albania, Premier Khrushchev has continued the Soviet propaganda cam-

paign of threats against free nations, with particular reference to Greece and Italy. Moreover, he is reported to have called for the withdrawal of Greece from NATO and to have heaped abuse on Italy for its decision to adjust its defense to modern needs.

Mr. Khrushchev is reported to have said with respect to Greece that the people of every country "should decide for themselves what system they want to have." He should recognize that this right extends to the right of free people everywhere to decide for themselves the nature of their own defense in an atmosphere free from the kind of threats which now rain down upon Greece and Italy from Mr. Khrushchev in Albania and upon Iran from Soviet propaganda media.

The policy of the United States Government is one of unswerving support for these free nations. It regards any threat against them as a matter of mutual concern.

The United States Government has repeatedly pointed out, most recently on May 25,¹ that the use by the Soviet Government of threats which appear deliberately designed to heighten international tensions can scarcely improve the chances of successful negotiations at any level. It regrets that, at a time when the Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France are engaged in negotiations with the Government of the Soviet Union at Geneva, the Soviet Government is intensifying its propaganda campaign of threats against nations which, by their own free decisions, are taking adequate measures for the defense of their independence and territorial integrity.

Admiral Foster To Represent United States at IAEA

The Senate on May 21 confirmed Paul F. Foster to be representative of the United States to the International Atomic Energy Agency. For biographic details, see Department of State press release 363 dated May 26.

¹ See p. 866.

East Germany: Puppet Government

by Hugh S. Cumming, Jr.

*Director of Intelligence and Research*¹

On this eve of Armed Forces Day, as we salute our Army, Navy, and Air Force here at home and overseas, I know you share with me, and with free people everywhere, the longing for a durable peace. Unfortunately the values we cherish—individual dignity, religious and political freedom, economic well-being—do not remain inviolate simply because we wish it so. Inescapably from time to time the ideals of men and their institutions undergo vigorous and critical testing. Certainly no more demanding test has confronted us—as it has for more than a decade—than the hostility of the ambitious, aggressive, and heavily armed Sino-Soviet bloc, dedicated as it is to the premise that the future belongs to communism. With the whole world as its proclaimed goal, international communism stands as the greatest moral and physical peril in our history. Thus, never before has it been more imperative that we achieve a thoroughly united effort by the military and civilian power of our Nation. Only through joint, cooperative action may we meet and overcome this formidable challenge.

Fortunately action of this sort is characteristic of the United States. Our President is at the same time Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and Chief Executive in our foreign relations. I am happy to think that our joint action finds concrete expression in my presence here today, bringing a pledge of cooperation by the Secretary of State to our symbolic union of the armed services and the civil authorities in tomorrow's ceremonies.

¹ Address made at Langley Air Force Base, Va., on May 15 (press release 334).

Let me turn to another important factor in the strength of our country—a factor that it is especially appropriate to emphasize here in the Commonwealth of Virginia. One of the chief bases of our national unity and of the freedom and progress that characterize our society is our representative system of government. It is with no small pride that we in Virginia recall the contribution to American democracy made by our Revolutionary forebears and by following generations of our fellow Virginians.

Never has this heritage been more critically important than now. As our environment grows increasingly complex, as the potentialities for political and social control by government become stronger, the problem of creating and maintaining institutions which truly advance individual freedom and dignity becomes more pressing. In our own case, and in the entire Western World, individual liberty has been strengthened and individual dignity has been enhanced. No doubt government in the modern world has constantly extended its influence on the individual's well-being; it follows that the measure of a government's legitimacy can only be the degree to which it is responsive to the needs of those it governs. Fortunately for us the architects and builders of our United States have constructed a system of government clearly dedicated through its representative character to the welfare of the individual.

On the other hand, wherever social and political institutions are shaped solely for the gain of a dictatorship, liberty and dignity are destroyed. At this very time when we are meeting together here, there is a meeting going on in Geneva that sharpens this contrast between nations that share

a heritage of freedom and those that are totalitarian dictatorships. I think it might be appropriate this evening for us to consider one of the puppet governments that has been set up by the rulers of the Communist bloc—a government which shows what those rulers are working to foist on free peoples throughout the world. Let us look at the so-called “German Democratic Republic,” where a puppet regime seeks to control and dominate all aspects of life, in politics, business, art, and social activity.

Communist Puppets

At Geneva our Secretary of State, Mr. Herter, is now meeting with the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union on problems that result from the continued artificial division of Germany.² The United States has welcomed the opportunity to discuss these issues peacefully, and it hopes, as Secretary Herter has said, that the talks “will prove to be businesslike negotiations and not a propaganda exercise.”³ Given the long list of broken pledges by the Soviets, the allied West has wisely adopted a firm “I’m from Missouri” position.

German advisers from West and East—from the German Federal Republic and from the so-called “German Democratic Republic”—are present to assist the four Foreign Ministers. The Soviet Union claims that both sets of Germans should attend the conference as full-fledged participants, representing what the Russians call the “two German states.”

As a first step in examining the character of the East German regime, let us have a brief look at the backgrounds of the “advisers” who have alleged that they represent the national interests of the 17 million Germans who live in the Soviet Zone. Of the four principal “advisers,” two are Soviet citizens; the third was educated in the Soviet Union and is married to a Soviet citizen. Only the fourth has a reasonably German background, but he is manifestly cast in the role of window dressing and very seldom heard from.

You may well ask, “How can such men profess to represent the aspirations of a people who want to reunify their country and exercise national self-determination, to choose their form of gov-

ernment, their own social and economic system?” The obvious answer is that they don’t. What they do represent is a credo out of Moscow and allegiance not to the German people but an allegiance to communism and to the Kremlin. What they value is, in their own words, “unbreakable friendship and deep love of the Socialist Soviet Union, of the Liberation Army (that is, the Red army), loyalty to the cause of Lenin and Stalin and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.” This language speaks for itself.

The self-styled German Democratic Republic, when established in October 1949, was justified by the Russian and German Communists as a “response” to the creation of the Federal Republic of West Germany. As a response it was strikingly inadequate. For proclamation of the Federal Republic in September 1949 followed on democratic elections and a democratically adopted constitution. In East Germany neither free elections nor free discussion preceded the formation of the regime. The entire process was manipulated from the Kremlin to orbit another satellite in the Soviet system. I want to emphasize how completely artificial the East German regime is. This mockery of a government was arbitrarily installed and is forcibly maintained. There is no background, either in historical precedent or international agreement, for any separate form of government in East Germany.

Following World War II the declared purposes of the Allied Powers—Western and Soviet—with regard to Germany were (1) denazification, (2) prevention of the rebirth of aggressive forces, and (3) assistance to the German people in recovering their national self-respect and standing in the community of free nations. But, long before 1945 and the Potsdam conference, the Soviet Union had already cynically set to work to make Germany a Russian puppet. It selected, trained, and repatriated persons who are today the political and military leaders in East Germany.

Conspicuous among them and typical of these people, Wilhelm Pieck, President of the East German regime, has been a Communist since his early youth. Walter Ulbricht, First Deputy Prime Minister, is a Communist, was long a colonel in the Red army, and is probably still a Soviet citizen. Ulbricht was the prime mover in engineering the phony National Committee for Free Germany, which later was the instrument for the

² See p. 859.

³ BULLETIN of May 25, 1959, p. 735.

Communist takeover. Another is Hilda Benjamin, "Red Hilda," a Communist who lived the World War II years in the Soviet Union and is now Minister of Justice, or—as the Germans prefer—"Minister of Injustice."

With the help of puppets like these, the Russians then proceeded to impose the present regime upon the helpless East Germans. As the uprisings of June 1953 demonstrated, the regime could and can be maintained only by force. There are 22 Soviet military divisions still in East Germany. While these divisions play their main role in the larger Soviet strategy toward Europe, they have also been an indispensable mainstay to the regime while it built up its own instruments of forcible repression. Here we see the Soviet contribution toward self-determination, toward letting the German people solve their own problems!

East German Constitution a Dead Letter

The East Germans do have a constitution. Among its principles are some that have a real democratic ring—until we catch the echo from the pious words of the constitution "granted" the Russian people by Stalin. Article 6, for example, speaks of the "exercise of democratic rights"; article 8 of "personal liberty"; article 9 of freedom of expression and assembly; and article 14 of the "right of trade unions to strike." But this constitution is no living instrument like our own. Its principles remain a dead letter. Indeed, when the regime, with active aid from Soviet military forces, bloodily suppressed the uprisings of 1953, every one of these provisions was violated. There were no illusions about the value of these hollow promises in the minds of the patriotic heroes at that time who defended themselves with stones against Russian tanks. Who can doubt that the spirit of these heroes is still alive?

The constitution provides also for equal, universal, direct, and secret elections. But who are the people allowed to vote for? Only groups that meet the Communist specifications may nominate candidates, and at each election the voter is offered only a single list of candidates without choice of party. He cannot even vote "No" but to object must publicly refuse to drop his ballot in the box—with obvious consequences. This system has produced 99 percent majorities, like those which have so long been a routine in the Soviet Union. It is the inventors of this system, by the

way, who so loudly criticize the "mechanical majorities" of the West in the United Nations!

One might wonder why the regime bothers to hold elections at all. They are but a semblance of the democratic process, representing no more than a political "con" game. To the overwhelming majority of the population they are the ultimate in intellectual humiliation. To the regime, however, they add one more means of inflicting discipline.

Why the U.S. Doesn't Recognize East Germany

I have talked at some length about the political complexion of the Soviet Zone of Germany, the unrepresentative character of its regime, and the complete dependence of that regime on the Soviet Union. Despite this record of unresponsiveness to the needs of the people, we in the Department of State are sometimes asked, "Why doesn't the United States recognize East Germany? We recognize West Germany, don't we?"

The fundamental reason for not recognizing the "German Democratic Republic" is that it simply is not a national entity. It is, to repeat, an artificial regime created by the Soviet Union and imposed in the Soviet Zone of military occupation because the Soviet Union has not been able to dominate all of Germany. The Federal Republic of West Germany, on the other hand, does not claim to be a separate German state but is a temporary and partial federation which will be dissolved when a constitution and democratic government for the whole German people comes into force. The Federal Republic, with a population of 50 million, is accepted as the international spokesman for the entire German population by all the non-Communist countries of the world. Our recognition of the "German Democratic Republic" would mean our acceptance of the Communist thesis that Germany is not one but two nations; it would mean, moreover, abandoning the population to communism.

In its unremitting campaign to control the mind and spirit of the East German people, the regime goes to extraordinary lengths. Let me give you an example of its attention to detail. For many years the Duden reference dictionary has traditionally been the one classical authority for Germany on the usage and meaning of words. Today, in the Soviet Zone, a second Duden has appeared. Even this homely device has been used

to distort the simple and traditional meanings of Western concepts. Democracy, for example, is defined as "a form of government, the nature of which is determined by whatever class is in power." Individualism is "self-interest without any consideration for society." To enlighten is "to instruct politically." The word "atheism," which was defined originally as simply "denial of the existence of God," is given a new twist as "scientifically founded denial of the existence of God."

On a very different plane, religion is opposed by the regime, as it is, to be sure, by all Communists. The latest attack has taken the form of a ceremony, a confirmation of the young—but confirmation in atheism! Available evidence clearly shows that soon no boy or girl will be able to enter an institution of higher learning until he or she has received this confirmation.

Or take the law. Courts of so-called "justice" make a mockery in East Germany of due process, rules of evidence, and rights of defense counsel. Their nature was clearly revealed less than a month ago when five Dresden university students, aged 18 to 21, were given prison sentences totaling 37½ years at hard labor for allegedly promoting "antistate" activities on their campus. Observers reported that the trial judge repeatedly attempted to influence the students in their answers and that you couldn't tell the defense attorney from the prosecutor.

Such demoralizing and evil practices will in time pave the way for weakening and undermining the regime. As injustice continues—in the churches, the schools, the trade unions, the business community—the regime will be the loser. The freedom to work, to worship, and to study as one chooses is indivisible. History has repeatedly demonstrated the futility of attempts at infringement of these inherent rights.

Indeed, the Soviet Union would do well to pause in pressing its unreasonable and unwarranted demands on Berlin—to hesitate in urging its puppet regime to impose still further burdens on its subjects. The Soviet leaders might well ask themselves what is to prevent the East German people from rising again as they did in 1953

and with greater force demanding their rights and freedom.

The most eloquent testimony of a people in despair is told by the refugees who reach the West. These are the people of whom it has been said: "They vote with their feet." In 10 years 3 million Germans—teachers, physicians, clergymen, engineers, laborers, even state officials—have fled from the Soviet Zone. Many of you may recently have seen and heard some of these people tell their stories on television. The refugees are welcomed by the West, and each arrival is a loss for the Communists.

West's Determination To Stand Firm

These considerations make it all the more urgent to settle the problem of Germany in a way that will insure German reunification in peace and freedom. Secretary Herter and his Western colleagues at Geneva are approaching this problem with a clear determination to advance the cause of peace and freedom by first standing firmly by the West's obligations in Berlin. Armed Forces Day symbolizes for us the military strength we possess to support this firmness. Provided we all play our part, military and civilian together, our diplomacy can effectively give expression to our determination.

President Eisenhower, as you know, has made clear his willingness, if progress is made by the Foreign Ministers, to participate in a Heads of Government meeting to further the cause of reunification and the overriding problem of European security. A divided Germany is a problem which extends beyond Europe alone; it has vital meaning for the entire world. And, as the President has said:⁴

"We must avoid letting fear or lack of confidence turn us from the course that self-respect, decency, and love of liberty point out. To do so would be to dissipate the creative energies of our people, upon whom our real security rests. This we will never do."

⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1959, p. 467.

The United States Role in the World Refugee Year

Following is a statement by President Eisenhower and an address by John W. Hanes, Jr., Administrator, Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, made at the White House Conference on Refugees at Washington, D.C., on May 21.¹

STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EISENHOWER²

White House press release dated May 21

It is a pleasure to welcome you to the White House Conference on Refugees. At the same time I want you to know how gratified I am that so many of you have been able to arrange your busy schedules to participate in this meeting. From it, I am sure, will come a clear concept of our country's role in the World Refugee Year.

To such a group as this it is not necessary to describe the daily problems of the millions of dispossessed people around the world whom we call "refugees." You are well aware of their problems. In fact, you and the organizations which many of you represent deserve the highest praise for what you have done and what you are now doing to help these refugees and to keep alive their hope for a better way of life.

The response of the American people to the needs of the homeless and the outcast has always been generous and timely. Since the early days of nazism, and even more particularly since the end of World War II, Americans have opened their hearts and land to thousands of such people.

With charity and understanding the American

people have welcomed these refugees to our shores. Here immigrants have traditionally exchanged their despair for confidence and their fears for security. Today they are citizens; many of them own their own homes; some of them own their own businesses; their children are in our schools; and they, as families, are making a full contribution to our national life.

Much has been done, but the refugee problem remains—acute and chronic—and it will remain so long as the world suffers from political unrest and aggression. And as long as there are refugees, we cannot ignore them.

That is why the United Nations, with the close and immediate support of the United States, sponsored the World Refugee Year. This is a year to focus the concern and the ingenuity—and the generosity—of the world on the continuing problem of refugees. Perhaps, with such a mobilization of effort—as in the International Geophysical Year—but for the advancement of humanity rather than science, it may even be possible to resolve some particular refugee problem. This would be a great step forward, and we can all hope for such progress. In any event we must further our efforts to create lasting international understanding of and concern for this problem, which I fear will be with us for a long, long time.

Now, I have asked you to come together to share with the Government your experience, your judgment, and your insight regarding the things which should be done and how best to do them. The task of refugee care is not one for governments alone. It can be done only with broad and devoted citizen support. As leaders in your own communities, as officers of private groups, I know you will want to assume the greatest possible personal responsibility in this humanitarian cause.

Working together, I am confident this can, and will, be a useful and promising meeting.

¹ For a White House announcement and a letter from President Eisenhower to Francis B. Sayre, Jr., Dean of the Washington Cathedral and chairman of the board of the U.S. Committee for Refugees, see BULLETIN of May 18, 1959, p. 709.

² Read by Gerald D. Morgan, Deputy Assistant to the President.

ADDRESS BY MR. HANES

Press release 346 dated May 21

Refugee problems are as old as history. The exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt, the granting of asylum by the Roman Empire to Germanic tribes beset by the hordes from the east, and the flight of the Pilgrims and the Huguenots to our own country are known to all of us.

The refugee has always symbolized man's inhumanity to man, just as he has also symbolized the individual's search for freedom.

The middle decades of the 20th century, therefore, might at first glance not seem to differ in this respect from all previous ages of history. In fact, two things make our era very different indeed.

The first is that advances in modern technology and science have raised the efficiency of tyranny to a hitherto undreamed of level. More people are more thoroughly and more effectively oppressed in more ways by more ruthless political systems than has ever before been accomplished. The Caesars of today not only demand the subjugation of the body, but they also know how to achieve the slavery of the mind and of the soul. As a result the number of refugees has risen to a flood that has labeled our age "the century of the homeless man."

The second difference today is that, for the first time in history, civilization has advanced to the point that people who are not directly affected are nonetheless willing to share the burdens which refugees carry themselves and which they inevitably bring to those places where they find refuge.

The refugee problem is a problem of masses of people; it is a political problem and an economic problem, and a problem of the cold war, and a problem of all the other unhumanized terms which we use today to disguise the fact that we are speaking about real people. But the problems of refugees are the problems of real people—each of them an individual human being.

The concerns of the individual have always meant much to us in America. The concept of individual dignity, and a moral obligation to extend it throughout the world, is inherent in every basic American political document. Lincoln, speaking of the Declaration of Independence, said it meant "liberty not alone to the people of

this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time." Quite naturally, therefore, both the American people and their Government have devoted vast efforts and resources in seeking the attainment of individual dignity both at home and in many lands abroad.

These traditional American concepts of liberty underlie not only the leading role which the United States has always played in refugee activities but form a basis for our entire foreign policy. Former Secretary Dulles, describing American foreign policy in January of this year said,³

At a time when war involves unacceptable risks for all humanity, we work to build a stable world order. We seek for general acceptance of the concept of individual dignity which will lead to the spread of responsible freedom and personal liberty.

A 19th century Hungarian patriot, Louis Kosuth, said:

The cause of freedom is identified with the destinies of humanity, and in whatever part of the world it gains ground, by and by it will be a common gain to all who desire it.

Such beliefs were the genesis of the World Refugee Year.

Creation of the World Refugee Year

The General Assembly of the United Nations created the World Refugee Year by adopting on December 5, 1958, a resolution⁴ submitted by the United Kingdom and cosponsored by the United States and eight other nations.

The United Nations, "convinced of the need to make a further world-wide effort to help resolve the world refugee problem," set forth two purposes of its proposal: to focus interest on the refugee problem and to encourage additional opportunities for permanent refugee solutions on a purely humanitarian basis and in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the refugees themselves. Implicit in the resolution is the hope that new sources of help for refugees will be found during the year—that both countries and segments of the public beyond those who have traditionally supported refugee activities will be stimulated to understand—and to help.

³ BULLETIN of Feb. 2, 1959, p. 151.

⁴ U.N. doc. A/RES/1285 (XIII).

The General Assembly recognized the varied nature of the refugee problem, and of ways of attacking it, by rejecting any centralized direction of the World Refugee Year. Instead, each member state was urged to cooperate in whatever way it deemed most suitable. Significantly, the only "no" votes were cast by Communist-bloc nations.

Many countries are establishing national programs for the World Refugee Year. Her Majesty the Queen is serving as Patron of the World Refugee Year in Great Britain, while the Prime Minister and the leaders of the Labor and Liberal Parties have accepted roles as vice chairmen signaling all-party support, and a World Refugee Year Committee has been established and has already launched a major fund raising drive.

Among others, Australia, Austria, Belgium, China, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, and Turkey have publicly announced plans for participation through organized programs generally involving joint public-private effort and contributions.

U.S. Participation in Refugee Aid Programs

President Eisenhower has issued a proclamation designating the year beginning July 1, 1959, for observance of the World Refugee Year in the United States. He has pledged the support of our Government, and he has asked all citizens to participate in the programs of the privately organized United States Committee for Refugees and the many voluntary agencies active in the refugee field.

As we speak of *the* World Refugee Year, I think we should remember that every year since World War II has been a "refugee year"—for the refugees. We enthusiastically support this international year which, we hope, will bring an ever wider awareness of and sympathy toward refugee problems throughout the world. At the same time I think we can take quiet pride in the constructive international leadership which our country has shown in all the other "refugee years" which have preceded this one.

Since 1945 our Government has spent well over a billion dollars directly on refugee programs.

While World War II was still in progress, the United States played a leading role in creating and supporting the United Nations Relief and Re-

habilitation Administration, which had as one of its responsibilities the care and reestablishment of displaced persons in Western Europe. When it became apparent, as it very quickly did, that UNRRA's primary objective of repatriation must not be carried out because of the fear and hatred which the refugees felt toward their Communist former homelands, the United States led in the establishment of the International Refugee Organization. IRO, before its liquidation in 1951, helped resettle more than 1 million persons. The United States contribution to the refugee programs of these two organizations was about \$300 million.

Nonetheless, several hundred thousand refugees still needing aid were left in Europe. This group was and is constantly being swelled by the thousands more fleeing each year from conditions which are intolerable to them. Elsewhere in the world the Communist subversion of China, the Korean war, the partition of Viet-Nam, and the Israeli-Arab conflict created other refugees numbering in the millions, most of whom were without resources or means of livelihood.

Again the United States played an impressive role in assisting.

We have given strong and continuing support to the establishment and operation of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to his program for permanent solutions for the refugees under his mandate.

The United Nations has assisted more than 900,000 Arab refugees displaced by the Arab-Israeli war, and the United States has contributed 70 percent of the funds for this effort—\$219 million to date.

The United Nations Korean Relief Agency took over the problem of the refugees from north Korea. The United States contributed nearly \$100 million directly to this agency and spent, in all, close to \$400 million in Korea to alleviate refugee conditions.

The United States contributed about \$100 million to the successful resettlement of the refugees in Viet-Nam.

Our country has also given many millions of dollars toward assistance to the Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. This aid has been channeled through private relief agencies and the British authorities in Hong Kong and has served to supplement the massive and promisingly successful

housing and resettlement program for refugees which is being carried out by the Hong Kong authorities.

More recently the United States Government has contributed in excess of \$60 million to the care and resettlement of the Hungarian refugees.

At the present time the United States actively participates in three different but related programs which help refugees.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees devotes his principal efforts to reestablishing the refugees in Europe and to the relief of certain other groups of refugees, including Europeans from Red China, Algerians in Tunisia and Morocco, and Jewish refugees from the Middle East.

The Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) is an organization of 28 non-Communist governments. Primarily involved in overseas movements, it has helped resettle more than 400,000 refugees from communism since 1952. The United States contributes about \$12 million annually, which is nearly half of ICEM's budget.

The U.S. Escapee Program is not an international organization but is 100 percent an American program. It helps recent escapees from communism from the time of their arrival in the free world until their successful resettlement. USEP costs vary from \$5 million to \$10 million per year, and this program has been one of our most successful investments.

In addition to these established programs the United States has been providing, under Public Law 480 [Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act], surplus commodity food for refugee feeding programs at the average annual rate of \$10 million. This food each year provides much needed help in Hong Kong for the relief of Chinese refugees. Similar programs have been instituted in Austria and Italy to relieve the burden of the support of Yugoslav refugees and in Tunisia and Morocco for Algerians. Surplus commodities are also made available for distribution by American voluntary relief agencies.

These, most briefly, are the governmental programs and the record of United States Government participation in them. That is, of course, very far from a complete record of the situation. For the American people have extended their hands to the homeless and the unfortunate in

World Refugee Year, 1959-60¹

WHEREAS the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 5, 1958, adopted a resolution for a World Refugee Year to begin in June 1959, and urged members of the United Nations and of its specialized agencies to cooperate, in accordance with the national wishes and needs of each country and from a humanitarian point of view, in promoting a World Refugee Year as a practical means of securing increased assistance for refugees throughout the world; and

WHEREAS the United States, consistent with its traditional principles of humanity, sympathy, and interest in the welfare of other peoples of the world, cosponsored and supported the resolution for a World Refugee Year; and

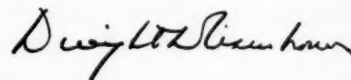
WHEREAS the aims of the World Refugee Year are to focus interest on the refugee problem; to encourage additional financial contributions from governments, voluntary agencies, and the general public for solution of the problem; and to provide additional opportunities for permanent refugee solutions, through voluntary repatriation, resettlement or integration, with due regard for humanitarian considerations and in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the refugees themselves; and

WHEREAS there has been established recently a United States Committee for Refugees, composed of prominent citizens and representatives of American voluntary welfare agencies, which has expressed a willingness to assume major responsibility for organizing and assisting in the plans for participation of United States citizens in the World Refugee Year:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States of America, do proclaim the period from July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960, as World Refugee Year; and I invite all of our citizens to support generously, either through the voluntary welfare agencies or the United States Committee for Refugees, the programs developed in furtherance of that Year for the assistance of refugees.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this 19th day of May in the year of our Lord nineteen [SEAL] hundred and fifty-nine, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-third.



By the President:

DOUGLAS DILLON,

Acting Secretary of State.

¹ Proc. 3292; 24 Fed. Reg. 4123.

the world just as enthusiastically and just as effectively through their voluntary organizations as through their Government. The aid which has gone through the voluntary agencies is impossible to calculate, but it is certainly measured in the billions of dollars. It is also measured by the dedicated private citizens who have lived and worked in the refugee camps abroad and wherever there was need. The overseas missions of the voluntary agencies are more numerous and far-flung than those of the United States Government. Their influence both in the free world and behind the Iron Curtain is immeasurable.

American aid, however, has been more than sending dollars and people abroad. Since 1945 the United States has taken in more than three-quarters of a million men, women, and children under special refugee programs. In addition to these special refugee programs more than 2,500,000 immigrant visas were issued by our Foreign Service under our normal immigration program. Tens of thousands of these visas were issued to refugees.

All this is an extraordinary record and unquestionably unique in the history of nations. It adds up to 15 years of effort—by our Government, by our voluntary agencies and our churches, by thousands of our individual citizens. Over a billion dollars of public funds appropriated by Congress and other billions given by our people through their private organizations! Nearly a million refugees welcomed to our shores to begin a new life!

The Continuing Refugee Problem

I wish I could say that such efforts were no longer necessary, that our 15 years of work had solved all refugee problems. It *has* solved some. It has drastically reduced others. But many, unfortunately, remain, and new refugee problems will undoubtedly continue to arise to plague our consciences so long as conditions exist in the world which create them.

Our pledge to continue the sound and generous programs we have so long supported is undoubtedly the most meaningful contribution which the United States can make to the World Refugee Year.

According to the most reliable estimates, there are presently about 2,350,000 unassimilated refu-

gees who may be considered to need some form of international assistance.

There are nearly 1 million Palestine Arab refugees and 1 million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong. There are 210,000 Algerian refugees and 100,000 escapees from behind the Iron Curtain still in Europe, many yet in camps after nearly 20 years. European refugees still in Communist China number 9,000; Tibetan refugees in India, more than 10,000; refugees from the Middle East, about 5,000; and other scattered groups, approximately 15,000.

These figures do not include the 12 million East Germans who have found refuge in free Germany and who still are arriving at the incredible rate of 2,000 per week, because all of them have full rights and privileges of German citizenship and are economically integrated shortly after their arrival. It also does not include the 15 million refugees in Pakistan and India who also are citizens of the countries in which they reside.

The Palestine Arab refugees represent an essential element of the Middle East tension and are clustered in some of the Arab countries, where most of them exist in camps on care and maintenance help given through the U.N., mostly by the United States.

The Chinese refugees in Hong Kong, having fled from Red China, live for the most part under conditions of unbelievable misery and squalor. Largely precluded from overseas resettlement, this group needs assistance in integration. The Hong Kong government has made heroic efforts and achieved much success. But it needs outside help to meet its staggering problem, for Hong Kong must absorb its million refugees into a total population of only 3 million.

An estimated 100,000 World War II and post-war refugees from communism are still unsettled in Europe and in need of assistance. Almost all are in Germany, Italy, Greece, and Austria. Approximately 35,000 of them are still in camps. The balance, although living outside camps, in many cases live under conditions as bad or worse than those of the in-camp refugees. Emigration is not the only or even the primary solution for this problem. The majority would like to settle permanently right where they are. Probably not more than 30,000 or 40,000 of this group would be willing to emigrate even if opportunity existed.

Algerian refugees have fled to Tunisia and

Morocco in large numbers since 1957. About half of them are children and most of the rest women and old people. They have received assistance from U.S. surplus agricultural commodities, the U.N. High Commissioner, and the League of Red Cross Societies. Their need for the basic essentials of life, however, remains very great and very critical.

The 9,000 refugees of European origin stranded in Communist China are currently being resettled at the rate of 2,500 annually, but the program must be accelerated if they are all to be rescued before it is too late for them.

The latest dramatic refugee-producing development is the brutal Chinese Communist subjugation of Tibet. The flight of the Dalai Lama and the savage fighting has resulted in the influx of more than 10,000 Tibetans into India. American voluntary agencies have offered and are providing valuable assistance to these refugees, and the Indian authorities have been assured of American sympathy and readiness to provide further help as required.

In the past 2½ years thousands of Jewish refugees have fled the Middle East. Some 30,000 have arrived in Europe in the past few years. About half of this number have required and received aid, principally from Jewish welfare agencies. An estimated 5,000 still require international assistance.

Foremost in the minds of many when refugees are mentioned is the tragedy of Hungary. In the months immediately following the revolt more than 200,000 Hungarians sought asylum in Austria and Yugoslavia. Through the inspiring efforts of nearly all free-world governments, together with a host of private agencies and individuals, the problem of the Hungarian refugees was almost eliminated in the relatively short time of 2 years. It is encouraging to know that at least one refugee problem is now at a point where it can be eliminated. Not one unsettled Hungarian remains in Yugoslavia today; and of the 14,000 still in Austria, probably only 8,000 are interested in emigration. These are manageable figures.

These, then, are the problems which we still face on the eve of the World Refugee Year. Certainly they will not all be solved during this year, nor is its objective so unrealistic as that. A few of the easier problems can, we hope, be eliminated

entirely. Others can be materially moved toward a solution. But many will still remain after 1960; and the World Refugee Year cannot be termed a success unless it closes with a greater worldwide understanding of these continuing problems than has heretofore existed.

Five-Point Program

In thinking about the United States role in the World Refugee Year, it has been plain to us that this must comprise two different forms of effort—governmental and private. I hope that later in this meeting there will be a full discussion of the nature and extent of the private effort. At this point, however, I would like to outline our thoughts concerning a Government program for the World Refugee Year. It has five parts:

1. Continued active support of and guidance to established refugee programs at a level of approximately \$40 million a year.
2. A special Government contribution over and above our regular programs to be apportioned among the most pressing refugee problems.
3. A special immigration program to enable admission as immigrants of a share of the refugees needing resettlement.
4. A substantial increase of between \$10 million and \$20 million in the distribution of food to refugees under the surplus agricultural commodity program.
5. Full support to the United States Committee for Refugees as the primary agency for coordination for the nongovernmental aspect of U.S. participation in the World Refugee Year and to the voluntary welfare agencies which have always played such a vital role in refugee assistance.

In attempting to decide how best to use the special World Refugee Year contribution in order to meet the neediest problems, we have followed certain general guidelines. We have confined our plans to those groups of refugees currently considered to be in need of international help. Thus the ethnic Germans in Germany and the north Koreans in the Republic of Korea, for example, have not been included. We also recognized that a certain few refugee problems on the basis of their size or special features could be virtually eliminated through concentrated effort during the World Refugee Year. U.S. assistance in such instances appeared highly desirable, particularly

when, as in one case, the refugees involved are now in a very perilous situation.

Accordingly, in the hope that concentrated effort can go far toward reducing or solving entirely the problem of the anti-Communist refugees both in and out of camps in Europe, the U.S. plans to contribute funds to the United Nations High Commissioner for their rehabilitation. In addition, through special projects with interested voluntary agencies, the United States will assist in the establishment of some of these refugees into countries of resettlement.

Similarly, the U.S. program will include a contribution toward the refugees of European origin in China; and we hope that, with the contributions expected from others, all of this unfortunate group can be resettled from China within the next 18 months.

Recognizing the very special needs of the million anti-Communist Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and in response to a special United Nations appeal for their assistance, the United States plans to contribute funds to assist the Hong Kong government to finance a program of hospitals and rehabilitation projects which was drawn up for the refugees by the UNHCR in conjunction with the Crown Colony. The U.S. contribution will support projects selected from a group including a refugee community center, a primary school, a technical secondary school, and a much needed tuberculosis hospital.

The critical humanitarian need of the 210,000 Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco is such that the U.S. program will include a contribution to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and to the League of Red Cross Societies to assist with their care and maintenance. This financial contribution will be in addition to the continued provision of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities now being made available under Public Law 480.

One unusual problem involving so-called ethnic refugees which does require our assistance is that of the Greek ethnic refugees from the U.S.S.R. These people are "ethnics" in name only, most having lived in Russia for many generations. About 1,500 of these refugees have arrived in Greece during the past 2 years. But they have faced such poor conditions there that some have elected to return to the Soviet Union despite the fact that they obtained permission to

leave only after years of effort. The U.S. program will include a provision for the Greek ethnic refugees.

We would hope, subject to the approval of Congress, that we would be able to contribute to the Arab refugee program at our same high level during the World Refugee Year. We would further welcome the opportunity to concert with other governments participating in the World Refugee Year in arranging for the construction of much needed vocational training facilities which would assist in the rehabilitation of these refugees.

A substantial increase in the size of most programs for refugee feeding could be achieved by making additional surplus foods available to augment those already under distribution. Voluntary agency refugee feeding programs utilizing U.S. surpluses could also be increased in many cases by providing the voluntary agencies with additional funds to increase their distribution facilities. Where possible, both of these things will be done.

I would like to say another word here about voluntary agencies. These agencies, of course, are the key operating element in all programs for refugees. Wherever there are refugee problems, there are the voluntary agencies bringing traditional U.S. assistance to those in need of help. In the refugee camps of Europe, in North Africa, in Hong Kong, in India, in Viet-Nam, in Korea, in the resettlement countries of Latin America, in Canada, Australia, and, of course, here in the United States, the agencies are on hand to carry out the job of assistance. All of the international or national organizations such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, and the U.S. Escapee Program depend upon and always have depended upon the voluntary agencies to provide the operating machinery for their programs. It is the Church World Service, the Catholic Relief Services, the United Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the YMCA, the International Rescue Committee, the Tolstoy Foundation, and many, many others which are actually in direct day-to-day contact with and help and counsel the refugees.

I have tried briefly to trace the United States policy of assistance to refugees and to develop the picture of the present situation of refugees throughout the world which led to the World Ref-

ugee Year. I have outlined a Government program for that year. You will hear Dean Sayre discuss the plan for private and voluntary agency contributions to the World Refugee Year, and Congressman [Francis E.] Walter will, I understand, present a plan for the immigration of certain numbers of refugees into the United States.

Soviet Objectives—Facts and Fancies

by Richard B. Wigglesworth
*Ambassador to Canada*¹

As you appreciate, I have not been in my present position for very long. Although I have not had long experience in the diplomatic service, I have spent some 30 years in political and legislative life as a Member of the Congress of the United States. During recent years the major emphasis of my work has been in the field of defense and foreign aid, which has involved one or more official visits to some 27 different countries involved in the programs.

In view of the importance of this audience I would like to refer briefly to some of the reasons back of current free-world policy toward the Soviet Union. I would like to cut through the propaganda fog which the Soviet Government so ably spreads and take a look at the record of the past 20 years in the belief that the undisputed facts clearly reveal for all who will look the basic objectives of Soviet foreign policy. I would also like to show how this record limits the flexibility of the free world in negotiating agreements on disarmament, disengagement, and the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests.

I would hope that these approaches will leave no room for doubt or fancy regarding the basic objectives and motives of the Soviet Union and will explain why my country does not feel that it can gamble its security by basing important agreements with the Soviet Union on faith, a quality which recent history shows it scarcely deserves.

¹ Address made at a combined meeting of the Canadian and Empire Clubs at Toronto, Canada, on Apr. 16.

I now invite you to discuss, question, or make recommendations about all these matters. I earnestly hope that, by such an interchange of ideas, this meeting will develop the initiative and the support throughout the United States that the President has called for in his proclamation. Certainly the gathering together of such a group of leaders as are here today is an inspiring start

I shall not try to explain the complex issues involved in the Berlin situation. They will be thrashed out at the Foreign Ministers meeting beginning May 11² and, if a summit meeting seems justified, at a later meeting of the Heads of Government. Nonetheless, I trust that some of the facts regarding basic Soviet motives which I shall mention will be helpful in understanding the background of the Berlin negotiations concerning which we shall be reading so much in the days to come.

Clues to Future Soviet Actions

In my judgment the best place to look for clues with respect to future actions by the Soviet Union is in its past actions. The free world cannot afford to overlook the lessons of history and of experience if it is to survive. Past Soviet actions are the only solid indications we have as to future intentions, unless we accept as gospel the no more reassuring writings and statements of their leaders, such as Khrushchev's recent remark, "We will bury you." The history of the last 20 years can be forgotten only at our risk and peril.

We must not forget that on October 31, 1939, Mr. Molotov in a speech before the Supreme Soviet referred to the then recently concluded mutual assistance pacts between the Soviet Union and Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. He said:

² See p. 859.

All these pacts of mutual assistance strictly stipulate the inviolability of the sovereignty of the signatory states and the principle of noninterference in each other's affairs. These pacts are based on mutual respect for the political, social and economic structure of the contracting parties, and are designed to strengthen the basis for peaceful and neighborly cooperation between our peoples. We stand for the scrupulous and punctilious observance of the pacts on the basis of complete reciprocity, and we declare that all the nonsensical talk about the Sovietization of the Baltic countries is only to the interest of our common enemies and of all anti-Soviet provocateurs.

This speech was delivered less than 20 months before the U.S.S.R. with its Red army incorporated by force these three independent countries into the Soviet Union. It was delivered only 20 months before the cattle cars moved eastward to Siberia loaded with tens of thousands of men, women, and children who had done no wrong, unless wishing to live in peace as citizens of independent countries was wrong. They had put their trust in Soviet good faith.

We must not forget the key role of the Red army poised on the border when the death knell of democracy was sounded for Czechoslovakia in February of 1948.

We must not forget the first threat to Berlin in June of 1948 and the free world's victory through the round-the-clock airlift.

We must not forget that at the Geneva summit meeting in 1955³ the Soviets agreed that,

The Heads of Government, recognizing their common responsibility for the settlement of the German question and the re-unification of Germany, have agreed that the settlement of the German question and the re-unification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security.

At the Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva 4 short months later the Soviet Union refused to reflect that commitment in any action or agreement.⁴

We must not forget that it was only 2½ short years ago that the incredibly brave Hungarian people rose in a supreme effort to obtain freedom and a government of their own choosing. They were on the verge of success when Soviet tanks

brought in from outside Hungary killed thousands of unarmed Hungarians and forcibly reimposed an unwanted regime on that country.

We must not forget that it was only 5 months ago that the Soviet Union artificially created a crisis between East and West over Berlin while loudly professing its dedication to peace.

Gentlemen, these and other developments make all too clear, I think, the basic motives of the Soviet Union during the past 20 years. Those motives are not complicated. They can be summed up in the words "aggressive expansion"—aggressive expansion by subversion and the exertion of political pressure if possible, by the use of force if necessary and if it appears to promise success.

And by subversion I of course mean the whole arsenal of weapons including threats, false promises, infiltration, economic warfare, and other familiar tactics of the cold war. The free world must be prepared to overcome encroachment either by force or by subversion. By its united military strength it has blocked any recent expansion of the Soviet Union by military means and forced the Kremlin to turn to subversion. By united action it can also counter Soviet subversion.

Remembering the fate of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, however; remembering the subversion of Czechoslovakia; remembering the murder of Hungary's fighters for freedom; and remembering Soviet broken promises, including the agreement at the 1955 summit meeting regarding the reunification of Germany by free elections, we in the free world cannot base our security on faith in the unsupported promises of the Soviet Union. This is why, in trying to reach an agreement to disarm or an agreement to discontinue the testing of nuclear weapons or an agreement to prevent surprise attack, the free world must protect its very survival by insisting on agreements which are self-enforcing or which are safeguarded by adequate inspection and control systems. Given the Soviet record during the past 20 years, the West must base its relations with the Soviet Union on knowledge and not on faith.

Disarmament, Disengagement, Nuclear Tests

I have spoken of disarmament. Following World War II the Soviet Union maintained much of its vast military apparatus while the free world drastically demobilized its armed forces.

³ BULLETIN of Aug. 1, 1955, p. 176.

⁴ For background, see *ibid.*, Nov. 7, 1955, p. 727; Nov. 14, 1955, p. 775; Nov. 21, 1955, p. 819; and Nov. 28, 1955, p. 867.

Today it is estimated that the Soviet Army has about 175 divisions while only 21 divisions are in the central command of the NATO Commander, General [Lauris] Norstad. The only way the West can hope to face these overwhelming odds is by having adequate armaments, including appropriate nuclear weapons.

The U.S.S.R. in all disarmament discussions has had as a major objective increasing the relative effectiveness of its massive manpower by denial of nuclear weapons to the West. The West has maintained that only through an agreement under which conventional forces are phased more nearly into balance can the limitation of nuclear weapons be considered. The West for reasons already mentioned has also taken the position that an effective inspection system is an essential part of disarmament. The Soviet Government has maintained the absurd position that the purpose of the West in insisting on an inspection system is not to insure that a disarmament agreement is carried out but is a subterfuge to permit espionage.

I have referred to disengagement. Soviet ultimate objectives with respect to the various forms of disengagement which have been proposed include the withdrawal of allied forces including Canadian, United States, British, and French forces from Germany to their respective countries (3,000 miles for the Canadians and Americans) in exchange for withdrawal of Soviet troops within their borders (a few hundred miles); the neutralization of Germany; and the breakup of NATO.

Aside from the completely artificial creation of the Berlin crisis by the Soviet Union the European border between the Soviet orbit and the West has been comparatively free from dangerous incidents. This in itself casts doubt on the Soviet contention that military disengagement alone—that is, the mere physical separation of forces—would reduce world tension. The vital element in the reduction of world tension is not military disengagement but political disengagement, to which the Soviet Government has yet to make any significant contribution.

I have mentioned the discontinuance of nuclear weapons tests. The United Kingdom and the United States as you know have been ready and willing to reach an agreement to ban such tests provided there is effective, impartial machinery

for policing such a ban. As those of you who have followed the recent discussions at Geneva⁵ in the press will appreciate, the Soviet representatives have been insisting on a system of self-inspection supervised by a control organization subject to veto by any one of the permanent members of the commission. This would give a possible violator full power to prevent any action whatsoever and is not the effective, impartial machinery which the free world must insist on. The West cannot base its survival solely on faith in the word of the Soviet Union in dealing with matters of such vital importance.

Soviet Propaganda

Why is it, when the record of the current history of the Soviet Union is so clear, when the written and spoken words of its leaders are so specific in pointing to world domination as the basic objective of the Soviet Union, that some people—and even some peoples—believe that the Soviet Union is peace loving! Again, I think that the answer is a simple one. They believe that the Soviet Union is peace loving because it says so and because it says so repeatedly in skillful, clever, and sophisticated ways until the real record is forgotten. The agents of world communism devote much more money, more time, and more energy to propaganda than does the free world. Their immediate tasks are often simplified by the fact that they are completely unhampered by facts or truth in carrying out their mission.

Sometimes the object of Soviet propaganda is to disturb and confuse other peoples, and sometimes its object is to lull them into a sense of security which may be entirely false. The 1955 summit conference was used by the worldwide apparatus of communism to convey the impression of respectability for the Soviet Union and to imply that the peoples of the West and of other parts of the free world had nothing to fear from Soviet policies. The conference even included an agreement on German reunification which contributed much to a false spirit of sweetness and light and which there was apparently no Soviet intent to honor in performance.

Soviet propaganda is beamed at a variety of targets and differs in its methods and objects depending on the target. As between NATO part-

⁵ For background, see *ibid.*, May 18, 1959, p. 700.

ners, such as Canada and the United States, the Soviet object is always to create dissension and arouse animosity.

Willingness To Negotiate With the Soviet Union

The policy that the United States has followed in the past and will continue to follow patiently and persistently is that the West's firmness should always be matched by a willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union wherever and whenever a reasonable basis for negotiation exists.

We must and will continue to advance constructive proposals for the settlement of major international disputes. We cannot be overly sanguine of our success. It may take a long time for the Soviet Union to become convinced that it cannot succeed in its program of world domination, that the free world will not become deduced or weak or fail to stand up for what it believes. As the U.S.S.R. learns this lesson, it will perhaps begin to see that its interests can be served by agreements which guarantee peace and security. This will come only when the Soviet Union recognizes that real coexistence, rather than world domination, is the only course open to it.

Being prudent and vigilant and recognizing the lack of moral motivation in Soviet actions means that agreements reached with the Soviet Union must be of such a character as to be self-enforcing or subject to controls and must not be based solely on faith that the Soviet Union will do what it says.

The Need for Military Power

As President Eisenhower said in his second inaugural address,⁶ "No nation can longer be a fortress, lone and strong and safe. Any people seeking such shelter for themselves can build only their own prison." This is as true for the United States as for any other nation.

The free world together has enormous military power. It has today the necessary power to present to any aggressor who would unleash war upon the world the prospect of virtual annihilation for his country.

That power provides a vital protective shield behind which efforts can be made to solve what has been described as the major economic problem of the peoples of the free world, namely, to learn

how to strengthen each other so that they may live in prosperity and freedom in spite of the growing menace of Soviet economic imperialism and Communist Chinese economic throatcutting.

Without military power that objective is impossible.

The free world not only has enormous military power; it has economic resources several times greater than those of the Soviet Union and in addition the overwhelming moral resources of the appeal against Communist tyranny.

Canada and the United States have stood shoulder to shoulder with their allies in countering the Soviet threat. As allies in the defense of the North American Continent and as allies in NATO they will continue to play a vital role in meeting this challenge. Together as partners and as allies they can and will contribute immeasurably to the cause which we all have at heart, the cause of freedom, security, and world peace.

United Kingdom To Relax Controls on Many Imports From Dollar Area

Press release 372 dated May 28

The United States welcomes an announcement made on May 28 by the Government of the United Kingdom that British controls on the importation of many consumer goods from the dollar area are to be removed, effective June 8, 1959. In addition, Britain's so-called global quotas for imports from Western Europe and certain other nondollar countries will be opened to the dollar area at the beginning of the next quota year (for most commodities January 1, 1960). Dollar quotas on imports of automobiles and most types of fruit will also be increased.

Among the goods to be freed from import control are: cheese; eggs; honey; fresh, frozen, and canned vegetables; cereal breakfast foods; paints; toilet preparations and perfumery; soaps, detergents, and disinfectants; plastic, leather, and rubber manufactures; household appliances, such as washing machines and refrigerators; shoes; and musical instruments.

Commodities for which the so-called global quotas will be opened to U.S. exporters include: sporting goods, toys and games, stationery, cutlery, paper manufactures, and fresh pears.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1957, p. 211.

The Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Following are statements made by three of the U.S. Representatives to the U.N. Ad Hoc Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which convened at U.N. Headquarters in New York on May 6.¹

STATEMENT BY HENRY CABOT LODGE²

This Committee has important work to do, and I shall not delay it with a long statement.

Our task is to help to chart for the United Nations a course of cooperation among nations in the use of outer space for peace. In no field of endeavor is cooperation among nations more appropriate or more necessary. When we go about the business of exploring the universe the rivalries of men and nations really do look petty and ridiculous. The job is far too big for any one nation, no matter how big or how advanced in technology that nation may be. Every nation has a part to play and all peoples stand to gain from the results.

Therefore it is most gratifying to see this Committee meet and get down to business. The wealth of scientific and legal knowledge possessed by the states represented here today is an excellent augury for our success.

Our first task here is to adopt a plan of work. The United States has some views on that subject, and I shall present them in a moment. But before doing so we should remind ourselves now

¹ For an announcement of the U.S. delegation, see BULLETIN of May 25, 1959, p. 767; for a statement on "International Cooperation in the Use of Outer Space" made by Assistant Secretary Wilcox before the House Committee on Science and Astronautics on Mar. 6, see *ibid.*, Mar. 23, 1959, p. 399.

² Made at the opening session on May 6 (U.S./U.N. press release 3178 dated May 5). Ambassador Lodge is U.S. Representative to the United Nations.

that we are not dealing with remote dreams but with hard facts of the present and real probabilities—if not certainties—for the future.

As of this moment 11 earth satellites have been launched successfully, all of them since 1957. Five of these are in orbit today, and one is expected to remain in orbit at least 200 years.

Literally hundreds of high-altitude rockets or "space probes" have been shot hundreds of miles, and in some cases even thousands of miles, beyond the earth's surface to gather scientific data. Two of these have passed forever out of the earth's gravitational dominance and are now in orbit around the sun.

As a result of these and other experiments during the International Geophysical Year of 1957-58,³ whole fields of scientific knowledge are rapidly expanding—for instance, knowledge about the earth's magnetic field; about bands of radiation surrounding the earth; and about reactions of animals to space travel. Great strides are being made in rocketry and in radio communications with space vehicles.

Benefits Expected From Earth Satellites

Those are the facts of today. The probabilities for the fairly near future are, practically speaking, far more important to man's life on earth. Here are a few benefits expected from earth satellites alone:

1. Earth satellites can bring about a revolution in long-range weather forecasting, with incalculable benefits in saving multitudes of people from famine and floods. Satellites will scan the entire surface of the earth and radio back precise information on cloud masses, rain, storms, tempera-

³ For an article on "The International Geophysical Year in Retrospect" by Wallace W. Atwood, Jr., see BULLETIN of May 11, 1959, p. 682.

ture, and other weather data. This will mean, for the first time, really useful long-range forecasting covering periods of several weeks and even longer.

2. Earth satellites may eventually become major tools of radio communication between cities and continents on the earth. There will soon be a great need for such new means of communication. The present transatlantic telephone cable, which has a capacity of 36 voice channels, is expected to fall behind the demand by 1962, and although a new cable is now planned with several times the capacity of the present one, it will already be overloaded by the time it is laid down. This kind of problem is arising the world over. The long-range possibilities of satellites as reflectors and repeating stations for radio messages are therefore tremendous. It is even possible that they may be used for intercontinental television.

3. Data from the International Geophysical Year have already changed man's notions about the shape of the earth. Geodetic satellites can further refine man's knowledge of his own planet. By using satellites we can determine geographic details for mapping with far greater accuracy, especially in previously unexplored land areas of the earth.

4. Ships will probably be able to calculate their exact position within less than a mile, in any weather, by tracking earth satellites which transmit radio signals.

Some of the longer range possibilities can also be foreseen. For example, scientists hope one day to set up an astronomical telescope in outer space. Thus for the first time man could view the stars clearly, free from the distortions caused by the earth's atmosphere. This kind of large-scale project might well call for teamwork by many governments.

Finally, there is the near certainty that man himself will circle the earth in satellites within a few years and that, sooner or later, he will travel in interplanetary space.

If these probabilities are to become actual facts for the benefit of all nations, the nations must cooperate to make them so. How necessary this is has already been proved. The wealth of scientific knowledge from the earth satellites already launched would never have been obtained unless thousands of specialists had worked together in many countries around the globe—

tracking satellites, collecting and analyzing radio signals, and sending high-altitude sounding rockets into the upper atmosphere.

Much of the necessary cooperation is being carried on by the Committee on Space Research of the International Council of Scientific Unions, which is also called COSPAR. This organization of scientists is continuing the cooperation begun during the International Geophysical Year. Its work is of the greatest value. But there must also be cooperation among governments. That is why we are here.

Suggested Plan of Work

Now as to our plan of work, Mr. Chairman, the United States believes we can take as our point of departure paragraph 1 of the resolution by which the General Assembly last year created this Committee and defined our task.⁴ That resolution asked us to report to the 14th session this fall on four main topics. I shall take up each of these in turn.

Topic (a) is: "The activities and resources of the United Nations, of its specialized agencies and of other international bodies relating to the peaceful uses of outer space." In our view this question can best be handled by the Secretariat, with its extensive knowledge of international organizations. We therefore propose that the Secretary-General be asked to report to this Committee on topic (a) at an early date.

Topic (b) is: "The area of international cooperation and programmes in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices to the benefit of States irrespective of the state of their economic or scientific development. . . ." In the first instance this is a question for qualified scientists. We therefore propose that this Committee establish a subcommittee to deal with topic (b) and report on it to the full Committee. This subcommittee should be open to each member of the Committee wishing to take part. The United States intends to designate Dr. Hugh L. Dryden of our delegation to serve on this subcommittee.

I will pass over topic (c) and return to it in a moment.

Topic (d) deals with legal questions. There are many possible international legal problems in

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1959, p. 32.

the outer-space field. Some of these may be remote or abstruse, but others are of real practical importance and may arise soon. To study them we propose that the Committee appoint a second subcommittee of representatives versed in international law. It too should be open to each member of the Committee wishing to take part. The United States intends to designate Mr. Loftus Becker of our delegation to represent us on this legal subcommittee. It should report to the full Committee at an early date.

By following this plan of work the Committee would have before it at an early date the report of the Secretary-General on topic (a) and the reports of the two working groups on topics (b) and (d). We believe that will be the best stage, Mr. Chairman, for the Committee to consider the remaining topic—(c)—“future organizational arrangements.” It is axiomatic that no sound recommendations can be made on organization until the activities involved are clearly understood. This should be the case when the subcommittees and the Secretary-General have made their reports. The full Committee can then frame its report to the General Assembly covering all four topics. We hope that last phase can be finished by July 31.

As a contribution to the work of this Committee the United States has prepared a series of documents on the topics which were set forth in the General Assembly resolution and which I have just discussed. We are making these available to the Secretariat for the use of Committee members if they so desire. We have also made available a brief semitechnical publication on the nature of outer space and space science.*

We hope these ideas on how to proceed will seem sensible to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the members of the Committee. We strongly believe that our plan of work should be businesslike and should reflect the practical, technical, nonpolitical job which we have been given to do.

Our immediate tasks are prosaic and even pedestrian. But it is often true and seems to be true in our case that he who keeps his feet on the ground is better able to reach for the stars.

* *The Challenge of Space Exploration: A Technical Introduction to Space*, available on request from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, Washington 25, D.C.

STATEMENT BY LOFTUS BECKER¹

I am privileged to address this body. When one considers the grave importance of our initial consideration of the broad range of problems relating to the peaceful uses of outer space, I think one must conclude that a deep sense of responsibility, in addition to one of privilege, is entirely appropriate. This body will be examining, during these next weeks, a series of topics which constitute a challenge to our creative abilities. That so many of these problems are to a great extent novel in character means the addition to our deliberations of a real sense of challenge.

The mandate given the *Ad Hoc* Committee is set forth in the resolution of December 13, 1958, passed at the 792d plenary meeting of the General Assembly. It may be useful, at the outset, to refer specifically to that section of the resolution relevant to this working group. The authorization reads, in part, as follows:

The General Assembly . . . 1. Establishes an Ad Hoc Committee on the peaceful uses of outer space . . . and requests it to report to the General Assembly at its fourteenth session on the following . . . (d) The nature of legal problems which may arise in the carrying out of programmes to explore outer space. . . .

This mandate constitutes a request for the identification of those legal problems which, with a fair degree of probability, may arise in the establishing and fulfilling of such exploratory programs. Alternatively stated, it may be said that the task assigned us by paragraph 1(d) of the resolution of December 13 is that of constructing a rationally ordered framework within which are posed a series of questions calling for legal examination and investigation. Our role is to state, in as precise terms as are possible, the necessary questions in the context of the carrying out of programs to explore outer space.

We are *not* called upon to formulate immediate answers to these questions. Nor, if the language of the resolution is looked to, would the Committee appear to be charged with studying in depth these legal questions with a view to proposing definite rules.

Perhaps the importance of this understanding may be made apparent by referring to the evident truth that we of the United Nations are only

¹ Made on May 7 (U.S./U.N. press release 3179). Mr. Becker is Legal Adviser of the Department of State.

beginning to gather a series of facts, thus far rudimentary and isolated, about the nature of our universe. The extent of the work performed under the auspices of the International Council of Scientific Unions indicates that man's knowledge of his world is at merely a threshold stage. If exploratory programs continue to be carried out at a rate similar to that of the present period—and it is the hope of the United States that this rate will be vastly accelerated—our knowledge of the facts of space life 10 years hence will make our present state of knowledge look like the intellectual awakenings of early adolescence.

It is for this reason that the mandate given us by the Assembly contained in paragraph 1(d) of the resolution is indeed exemplary. In being asked to construct an ordered catalog of necessary legal questions, we are asked to do what may—with hard work and good spirit—be done. We are not asked now to build substantive rules which, because of the limited content of our factual information about this widening world, might prove to be ill adapted and unrealistic in its peaceful exploration. The members of the United Nations well know what happens in a society in which the substantive content of the rule of law has no relationship to the facts of social life and to changing climates of social consciousness.

If I may expand on this thesis for a moment, I would state that the rule of law is neither dependent upon, nor assured by, comprehensive codification. At present we know very little about the actual and prospective uses of outer space in all their possible varieties of technical significance, political context, and economic utility. In this situation an effort to agree upon any comprehensive code might either come to naught, or yield a small set of maxims of extreme generality, or produce an unworkable regime which would be dangerous in its giving of a temporary illusion of certainty.

Applicability of U.N. Charter and ICJ Statute

Turning now from the subject of our mandate, in our view it is desirable to make explicit the essential understanding that the application of the charter of the United Nations and the statute of the International Court of Justice is not limited to the confines of the earth; these instruments are

applicable to the relations of earthly states in outer space as well.

It is hardly necessary to remind oneself that article 1 of the charter succinctly sets forth the purposes of the United Nations. Yet it may be of value in this context to refer to paragraph 1 of that article, which reads as follows:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace.

Can it be suggested that this complex goal has no relevance to an extraterrestrial situs?

That question is intentionally rhetorical. It seems undeniable that outer-space questions do not affect only outer space, but are of primary interest to us, now and in the future, as they relate to Earth and to our universal interests upon Earth. The goals of developing friendly relations among nations and the achieving of international cooperation in solving international problems are of no less urgency and no less significance because the nations of this sphere have begun to develop interests in other spheres.

Similarly, article 51 of the charter, which recognizes as a principle of international law the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense against armed attack, is not restricted to the terrestrial arena.

These principles may seem obvious to us. Nevertheless it is eminently desirable to make it plain to all that there exists no legal problem as to the universality of the spatial scope of the charter. When the representatives of many of our countries met in San Francisco in 1945 and, since that time, when new nations entered this Organization, we were intending to lay down, and did lay down, the beginnings of an international order limited neither in time nor space.

In addition to this articulated postulate of the universal applicability of the United Nations Charter, there is the further question as to the applicability to outer space of rules of customary international law and provisions of treaties and other international contractual arrangements.

Here the governing considerations would seem

to be quite different. While some rules of customary international law may come to be held applicable in outer space, others would prove to be inappropriate. Consider for a moment a typical provision of a bilateral treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation which guarantees the right of "vessels" of each contracting party to come with cargoes to all "places and ports" of every kind within the territorial limits of the other. Clearly, an attempt to analogize, at this early date, "vessels," "places and ports," and "territorial limits" is of little practical value, whatever the ultimate decisions might be.

It may also be suggested that the task of selecting those rules of customary international law and those provisions of existing treaties which ought to have extended application to outer space would be both extremely complex and time-consuming. And particularly since so abstruse an undertaking would be entirely unrelated to the identification of the legal problems which it is our mandate to enumerate and describe, embarking at this time on such a course would not seem to be advisable.

Boundary Between Air Space and Outer Space

I want to turn now to the interesting and important development of the considerable and growing debate in existing "space law" literature concerning the need for or advisability of an early international agreement delimiting the boundary between air space and outer space.

Certain proponents in this debate begin with the proposition that existing international agreements, as well as various national laws, while recognizing the full and exclusive sovereignty of each state in the air space above its territory (including its territorial sea), do not contain definitions of what is meant by "air space." These proponents argue that a definition or delimitation of the boundary between air space and outer space is required in order to fix a top limit upon national sovereignty, so as to permit the reaching of new international agreements as to the legal character of outer space. These commentators proceed to argue that for technical, political, and other reasons concepts of national sovereignty should be held, or agreed, not to apply beyond the top limit of air space, as variously defined, and that some other concept—free for all, incapable of appro-

priation, United Nations control, and so forth—be applied beyond such limit.

There are wide divergencies of view between and among these commentators as to how "air space" should be defined, and several have from time to time radically changed the definition or definitions which they have proposed. Some of these definitions have involved the concept of successive contiguous zones in space extending out from the earth.

Other participants in this debate suggest that "air space" be defined as extending to a certain altitude without, as a necessary consequence, deciding that the sovereignty of a state ends at the upper limit of air space. Under this type of arrangement, national sovereignty could be held, or agreed, to extend to some altitude in excess of air space.

There would seem to be at least three differing approaches to this group of problems to which the *Ad Hoc* Committee may wish to give attention in its deliberations:

1. The Committee could examine the wisdom of a strictly pragmatic approach. Under this approach activities in outer space would be carried out as at present, permitting customary international law to be allowed to develop over the course of time, without specific efforts being made to fashion that law by agreement. The adoption of this approach would mean that the Committee would assign a very low priority, if any, to the definition of "air space."

2. A second course of action, which the Committee may wish to consider, looks with favor upon the feasibility and desirability of concluding international agreements on particular aspects of space exploration and activity. Instead of seeking to agree that air space extends so high and no higher—which would leave entirely unresolved the nature of the regime to be applied in outer space—this approach suggests the seeking of international agreements to regulate space activities as they impinge both upon air space and outer space.

3. A third possible course which the Committee might consider is some limit of altitude beyond which it would be considered that space unquestionably constitutes outer space, and not air space or contiguous zones. Without trying to settle definitively where air space ends, nations might

be able to agree within the near future that space beyond a fixed distance from the earth definitely constitutes outer space and that this space is free and open to all states for activities not precluded by applicable agreements or rules of international law. It would most likely be acknowledged that in the present state of scientific and technical information and experience there could be no definitive agreements on regions somewhat nearer to the earth, but in the future it might be possible to arrive at a top limit for air space and, perhaps, a lower limit for the beginning of outer space than that originally agreed upon. There would then be the subsequent question of the value and advisability of establishing any contiguous zones.

This type of approach would have the advantage of bestowing a large measure of freedom of action on nations with respect to a defined region of outer space. Although only the primary step of fixing an altitude beyond which space constitutes outer space could probably be taken at an early date, this course of action would make possible high priority for an early start on consideration of this whole problem. Such an approach should, of course, be supplemented by the conclusion of international agreements of the type envisaged in the second alternative approach, discussed above.

This approach is also suggestive of certain difficulties. Even if the problem of fixing a stationary boundary were overcome, its achievement might be without substantial meaning. For example, artificial satellites launched in geocentric orbits have come much closer to the earth at some points than at others. In some cases the perigee of a given satellite fell within one or more previously proposed altitude boundaries, while the apogee fell outside. Yet it would appear to be of doubtful value to impose one legal regime upon a satellite at perigee and another on the same satellite at apogee.

Use of Existing International Organizations

In a different context, another step that the Committee may wish to take in the preparation of its survey of the problems of outer space is to consider whether, and to what extent, various categories of these problems may best be discussed in existing international organizations. An excellent example is afforded by the universally recognized need for the allocation of frequencies

for radio and other electronic emissions to, from, and between space vehicles and objects.

The International Telecommunication Union, which is meeting in August of this year, possesses the technical facilities and background needed for meaningful discussion of the allocation of frequencies and related matters. Moreover, because of the nature of such emissions, any system of regulation for outer space will have to be carefully coordinated with existing regulations. Under these circumstances it would be appropriate for the Committee to suggest that the problems it is able to identify in this particular area are properly dealt with by the International Telecommunication Union, which is already operating with a view to reaching agreed solutions.

There may well be further categories of space legal problems which may best be dealt with in other specialized international organizations.

Other Legal Problems

It may be appropriate to mention at this time the identification of a number of further legal problems in some order of priority.

A general familiarity with existing space literature indicates that the commentators on this subject, to date, do not differ markedly as to the nature of the legal problems that will arise as a result of space exploration. Disagreement flows primarily from varying points of view as to the priorities to be given the resolution of such problems.

A number of commentators call for a general conference on all aspects of the subject at the earliest possible date. Generally speaking, those who hold this view appear not to be fully appreciative of, first, the enormous amount of preparatory work which would be required and, second, the danger of developing detailed legal rules without fuller knowledge than we now possess of the milieu in which such principles are to operate.

It is the position of the United States that such an overall approach would be premature. We think it would be more practical at this time to consider what specific legal problems relating to outer space should be dealt with upon priority basis, either because of the likelihood of disputes arising if the particular problem is not resolved in the near future or because the particular problem is one that can probably be resolved easily

and without substantial risk, notwithstanding our present limited knowledge of outer space.

Thus the *Ad Hoc* Committee may wish to indicate in its report to the Assembly that the legal problems of outer space should be taken up in some generally agreed order of priority. Moreover, because of the variety of techniques involved, there is a strong probability that the legal problems of outer space should be considered in not one but in various conferences, committees, and organizations.

I would like to suggest a preliminary listing of legal problems of outer space with some regard to the priority with which it may be advisable to consider them.

Liability

Some space objects or vehicles which attain orbiting or escape velocities may be specially designed to reenter the more dense layers of the atmosphere. Others are altogether likely to be consumed in the atmosphere on reentry, although some of the latter vehicles and objects, or parts of them, may fall to earth unintended and cause injury or damage. Still others may fall before attaining orbit or escape velocity. Although under the domestic law of a number of states a judicial remedy is available to plaintiffs against the state only for *negligent* torts, it seems likely that international law may develop so as to hold the state of origin liable for injury or damage caused by a space vehicle or object regardless of fault. The Committee may wish to explore the desirability of suggesting the reaching of international agreement as to whether such liability should be held to be absolute or should depend upon a showing of negligence or intent. The real problem in this area is one of enforceability. In this context, therefore, consideration should be given to solving the basic legal problem by recommendation of unqualified submission to the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for any dispute as to a state's liability for injury or damage caused by one of its space vehicles or objects.

Recovery of Space Vehicles and Objects

The Committee may also wish to consider the value of seeking agreement as to the right to secure return of space vehicles or objects, or parts of them, to the launching state after they have landed upon the territory of another state. Such

agreement may be made dependent upon the launching state's undertaking to be liable for any injury or damage caused by such landing and also, possibly, upon the launching state's making every effort to give advance notice of any such landing.

Identification

Even at this early stage of space development, an agreed method of identifying a space vehicle or object may be desirable, and the need for such identification will increase as the number of such vehicles or objects increases.

Visual Markings or Flags

While such markings or flags are customary on the earth and the sea, they would appear to have little utility as respects outer-space vehicles or objects not having a reentry capability.

Identification by Call Sign

It would appear that a more practical method of insuring identification of space vehicles or objects would be to assign a call sign to each and to reach agreement that the assigned call sign be emitted at stipulated regular intervals to facilitate identification.

Orbits or Orbital Characteristics

Still another method of identification would be through satellite orbits or orbital characteristics, which are considered to be more or less readily distinguishable from one case to another.

Registration

While the saturation problem is not now acute, it may ultimately become desirable to agree that the identification marks, call signs, or orbital characteristics of space vehicles or objects should be registered in some central record open to inspection by all.

In connection with the problem of identification of outer-space vehicles or objects, consideration should be given to the problem of derelicts—outer-space vehicles or objects which have accomplished their specific missions but nevertheless continue in orbit. Some may have lost their capability of transmitting data or identifying signals. Others may continue to emit transmissions of one type or another. Since space vehicles or objects may remain in orbit for hundreds of years, consideration should be given to some provision for self-destruction or automatic termination of transmissions.

Public Health and Safety and Contamination

Some consideration may be given to the issue of whether agreement is desirable to protect the public from hazards to health and safety which may be created by the carrying out of programs to explore space, or, differently stated, what agreements or regulations are needed to safeguard space or celestial bodies from contamination.

Reentering Space Vehicles and Objects

At the present time there is little or no legal problem with respect to space vehicles or objects capable of reentering the atmosphere of the earth. Putting aside for the moment questions of injury or damage and liability; the legal problems in this field are most likely to arise upon attaining the capability of putting man into space. The problem may become particularly acute when it becomes possible to put men into orbit under circumstances where an extremely minor deviation in course may have an enormous effect upon the location of the landing site.

The problems in this area may or may not be serious. Certainly the scientists should be consulted before any attempt is made to define these legal problems and their priorities.

One problem arises from the fact that it may be difficult to distinguish a reentry-capable non-weapons satellite from a guided or ballistic missile. This would suggest that any landing rights which such a vehicle would have should be made dependent upon advance notice of launching, course, and any identified variations in course.

Many nations may wish to agree to the principle that such a vehicle will be permitted to enter their air space upon reentry, subject to prior notice, and, as well, subject to the launching state's undertaking to be liable for any injury or damage caused thereby.

Sovereignty Over Celestial Bodies

Another subject to which the Committee may wish to give thought is the question of the regime to be applied to celestial bodies. Shall states of this earth be recognized as capable of obtaining sovereignty over all or part of a celestial body? Shall such bodies be regarded as *res communis*? While it is not our task to answer these questions, it is clear that this Committee should point out that they will arise and

should inquire as to the scientific context in which they will be posed.

Various possible approaches are available here. For example, we could adopt a policy of wait-and-see, until someone reaches a celestial body such as the moon or a planet; rules could then be worked out on the basis of actual needs. Another approach would be to regard celestial bodies as incapable of appropriation to the sovereignty of earthly states. Serious problems may ensue if more than one country lands expeditions on a particular body and they come into conflict in rival activities or attempts at exploitation. Still another possibility would be some form of international administration. In general terms, this would consist of an offer to negotiate an agreement providing for an administrative group to coordinate scientific activities, for example, upon the moon. For the period of such administration the participating nations would agree that they would not make any claims of sovereignty to the moon nor would any activities by any of them during the period of the administration afford a basis for making such claims, in the event that the administration were dissolved.

Interference Between Space Vehicles and Objects

It would appear that regulations to minimize interference between space vehicles or instrumentalities is a problem having a relatively low priority. The scientists should be consulted as to the likelihood of such interference occurring, other than communications interference.

Treatment of Extraterrestrial Life

The question of relations with extraterrestrial life, if discovered, should have a low priority at this time.

Conclusion

This, then, is the initial thinking of my Government with respect to paragraph 1(d) of the resolution of December 13. As we listened with keen interest to the discussion in Committee I last autumn, so we look forward eagerly to hearing the views of the members of this Committee as to the nature of the legal problems which may arise in the carrying out of programs to explore outer space. The work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee is likely to have a significant bearing upon the rec-

ognition and development of the rules of international law applicable to outer space. We are thus presented with a clear challenge to our creativity and our shared sense of responsibility.

I am certain that we will fulfill our goal of preparing a worthy contribution, in legal context, to the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee to the 14th session of the General Assembly.

With your indulgence, I will close by restating my sense of challenge and pleasure in anticipating our cooperative work.

STATEMENT BY HUGH L. DRYDEN ⁷

I count it a privilege to share in our joint task of preparing a report to the General Assembly on topic 1(b) of the General Assembly's resolution on the peaceful uses of outer space. Our assignment is to outline

The area of international co-operation and programmes in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under United Nations auspices to the benefit of States irrespective of the state of their economic or scientific development, taking into account the following proposals, *inter alia*:

- (i) Continuation on a permanent basis of the outer space research now being carried on within the framework of the International Geophysical Year;
- (ii) Organization of the mutual exchange and dissemination of information on outer space research;
- (iii) Co-ordination of national research programmes for the study of outer space, and the rendering of all possible assistance and help towards their realization;

The advancing progress of science and technology has brought us to a new frontier, the frontier of space. Man, until the end of the last century, was confined to moving to and fro in a two-dimensional world on the surface of the earth. He observed with envy the easy flight of the birds through the air. He studied the heavens above. With his powers of imagination and reasoning he gained knowledge and understanding of the universe in which he lived. A half century ago he mastered the secrets of human flight and left the ground to travel in the atmosphere. Now he has sent his instruments into space, establishing

new satellites in orbit about the earth and two new planets of the sun. He presses forward to gain new knowledge and understanding and hopes himself to search out the new frontier.

Men of many nations have contributed to this forward surge of science and technology. Creative ability is not confined to any race or nationality. The records of past achievement repeatedly demonstrate this potential of men everywhere, given the opportunity to contribute. I am sure that the exploration of space will prove no exception. It is a task vast enough to enlist the talents of scientists of all nations.

Research with satellites and space probes began in the framework of the International Geophysical Year, itself a striking example of the power of a united attack on global scientific problems. The international scientific community has been so stimulated by the results obtained from the IGY space program that it has itself established a mechanism for further consultation and collaboration, the Committee on Space Research (COSPAR).

Other uses of satellites are foreseen for accomplishing better certain tasks now accomplished by other means. The fields of application so far identified are those of meteorology and weather forecasting, long-distance communication, navigation, and geodetic measurements. Others may develop as knowledge and experience are gained.

Because man is himself the most adaptive and versatile measuring instrument and because of his inner desire to see for himself, the manned exploration of the solar system will surely come to pass. Preparation for the initial steps have already been taken, the immediate objective being to place man in a satellite orbit about the earth for a short time, to study his physiological and psychological reactions, to measure his ability to perform simple tasks, and to recover him safely.

These then, Mr. Chairman, would seem to be the three substantive areas which could most fruitfully be examined in our deliberations: space science, satellite applications in other areas, and manned exploration of space. Let us consider each of these areas briefly at this time, reserving fuller examination until the subcommittee on topic 1(b) meets on May 26. At that time an objective survey of these areas might be useful in developing information on which to base future

⁷ Made on May 7 (U.S./U.N. press release 3180). Dr. Dryden is Deputy Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

consideration of outer-space matters in the United Nations.

Space Science

Our newly acquired ability to hurl instruments into outer space makes it possible to carry out important scientific investigations that cannot be conducted at the surface of the earth. Eventually, when man himself enters the realm of space, such investigations will also include direct human observations. For such scientific investigations the convenient phrase "space science" has come into widespread use.

Space research as such is not really a separate scientific discipline. Included are the various branches of physics, chemistry, and the biosciences, supported by all the ingenuity that the engineering and technological sciences can bring to bear. Space science may be regarded as a continuation of the investigation of the earth and its atmosphere, of astronomy and astrophysics in general and of our solar system in particular, and of the origins and fundamentals of life—all from a new vantage point with new tools that promise increased effectiveness.

Just as the fullest development of space science involves the whole spectrum of scientific disciplines, so also does it require the interest, support, and participation of a whole world. In the mechanics of conducting a space research program there is need for international cooperation. The tracking of satellites and space probes and the collection of data from their radio signals provide examples of cases where such cooperation is important. In scientific research itself there are also many areas in which international cooperation is essential to the fullest realization of potential scientific gains. Joint efforts in the investigation of the ionosphere and the fundamentals of radio propagation through the upper atmosphere are required to obtain the worldwide coverage that alone can provide a complete picture.

But most of all, Mr. Chairman, space research needs to draw upon an entire world for its ideas. Those ingenious insights into the real meaning behind a set of observed facts that lead to real advances in the understanding of our universe are not the prerogative of a single nation or group but come from every quarter of the world where men are seriously occupied with scientific research. So vast is the challenge of space research and so great

is the promise to mankind in the way of increased knowledge and ultimate benefits that the world cannot afford to neglect or slight the opportunities that lie before it.

To emphasize the vastness of space research and to indicate the potential usefulness of scientific data in dealing with problems of concern throughout the world, perhaps a few specific examples may be helpful.

Sounding rockets and satellites can be used to continue investigations of our earth and its atmosphere. The pressures, densities, temperatures, composition, and winds in the earth's atmosphere need to be determined as a function of altitude, time, and geographic position, before a complete understanding of our atmosphere can be achieved. Since the sun is the primary source of energy affecting the earth's atmosphere, the details of the relations of solar activity to phenomena in the earth's atmosphere are important. Of practical significance are the relations that may exist between the high atmosphere and weather at the surface of the earth.

Of particular interest is the ionosphere, that portion of the atmosphere which is electrified. At the present time we have a fairly complete knowledge of the earth's ionosphere up to 100 kilometers, a less complete understanding of the ionosphere between 100 and 300 kilometers, and only scattered information about the ionosphere at higher altitudes. Immediate problems of interest call for the exploration of the ionosphere out to its farthest reaches, which may be some tens of thousands of miles from the earth's surface. It is also important to pin down the fluctuations in the ionosphere with time of day, season, sunspot cycle, and geographic position. It is, of course, the presence of the ionosphere that permits the reflection of radio waves for communication beyond the horizon. The state of the ionosphere is as important to long-range radio communications as is the state of weather in the lower atmosphere to transportation and other human activities.

Looking further to the future, both the atmospheres and ionospheres of the moon and planets will be of great scientific interest. The possibility exists that a careful investigation of these may provide increased insight into our own atmosphere and ionosphere and their behavior.

The discovery of the Great Radiation Belt by Van Allen early in 1958 has opened an exciting

new series of investigations in the general field of high-energy particles in space. The opportunity exists now to continue investigations of cosmic radiation, various plasmas in space, and their effects upon the atmospheres of the earth and planets. Those particles that cause the aurora are of interest not only scientifically but also because of the connection that exists between the occurrence of auroras and disturbances to radio communications at the surface of the earth.

Electric and magnetic fields in space form an important area of study. Particular interest focuses upon the earth's magnetic field because of its role in trapping the particles that form the radiation belt. The question arises as to whether or not the moon and planets also have magnetic fields and how these might compare with that of the earth. Simultaneously the question arises of whether these bodies may have radiation belts like the earth's.

The opportunity to perform experiments over astronomical distances provides the scientist with a means of investigating the fundamental nature of gravity. Already the simple observation of satellites has yielded improved values for the shape of the earth. In the near future it will be possible to check the general theory of relativity by comparing the rate of a satellite-borne atomic clock with the rate of a similar clock on the ground.

Through the use of satellites and observatories orbiting above the atmosphere, the astronomers will have an opportunity to observe in the wavelengths that do not get through to the surface of the earth.

Fundamental researches in the behavior of living organisms under the conditions of space and of space flight will be of interest in the area of the biosciences. Perhaps even more exciting is the possibility of finding life forms on other planets.

The conduct of research in space is itself the first useful application of satellites, and it is to be expected that man's new knowledge will be translated into forms that are meaningful and useful to men the world over. Of course, Mr. Chairman, we cannot yet predict the full impact of this endeavor. The benefits to mankind that may develop as a result of experimentation in space will only be fully appreciated with the passage of time.

Other Applications

It is somewhat easier to identify at this time the potential benefits of other applications of space vehicles which are more closely related to familiar activities now accomplished with the more limited means currently available.

In the field of meteorology, as Ambassador Lodge pointed out yesterday, the satellite will open the possibility of a worldwide system for observing the weather. At present our attempts to predict the weather are based on data limited to a small portion of the earth. The meteorological satellite will give us the opportunity to fill the gaps existing today and to obtain a complete picture of global weather. With such information available, weather forecasting will be greatly improved with resulting benefits to agriculture, transportation, and other weather-dependent activities of importance throughout the world.

The communications satellite may well lead to vastly improved worldwide communications in terms of speed, capacity, reliability, and possibly economy. The value of communications among nations is universally appreciated, but, as our demands become more and more stringent, we face the prospect referred to by Ambassador Lodge that present systems will not be adequate to meet these demands. The satellite may provide the means of meeting these needs and in addition may exceed minimum requirements, thereby offering the possibility of fuller communication among nations than ever before. In its simplest form the communications satellite may be a large sphere of perhaps a few hundred feet in diameter, which would be used as a reflector for radio signals beamed at it from earth. A more complex form would be the so-called repeater satellite, in which a radio repeater in the satellite picks up the radio signal from earth, amplifies it, and retransmits it to a station on another part of the globe.

Geodetic satellites offer the means of improving man's view of the size and shape of the earth and distribution of land masses and water. Optical observation of geodetic satellites has the potentiality of yielding the observer's location to less than 100 feet. Improved data on geographical details of the earth may be of economic as well as scientific significance.

The navigational satellite may provide the basis for an all-weather long-range navigational system for surface vehicles and aircraft. With the use

of suitable equipment it would be possible to establish positions with great precision irrespective of the weather. At the present time there is no such worldwide all-weather system of navigation.

These applications of satellites may become feasible within a decade, but it should be recognized that the timing of the availability of these applications depends on many factors over which the scientist can exercise no control.

Manned Space Exploration

Within this same decade we can foresee the beginning of manned space flight. The initial plans for manned space flight are of such a nature that man himself is the principal subject of the experiments, although there is involved the development of solutions for many problems in space technology which are prerequisites to further steps. It will always be necessary to return safely from the high speeds in satellite orbit or in free space by reentering the dense atmosphere, reducing the speed without having the vehicle burn like a meteorite, and landing at a safe speed. Much later, when large payloads of the order of 50 tons can be placed in orbit, it may be possible to build new types of vehicles and propulsion systems of a completely different character to be assembled and launched from a satellite for operation wholly in outer space.

Even with present technology it seems feasible to advance down the road of manned exploration leading in a few decades to manned exploration of the moon. Still later will come expeditions to Mars and Venus and eventually to the bounds of the solar system. Such programs become enterprises to warrant worldwide support and cooperation, particularly in the conduct of research in the manifold fields of science required to insure the success of such an undertaking.

Other Areas Which Need To Be Studied

In addition to the three types of activity just outlined, which might comprise the basis of the subcommittee's initial inquiries, there are other activities in international cooperation which are essential to and complement the substantive program of scientific and technical work. We should consider some of the technical characteristics of the operation of space vehicles and should ex-

amine possibilities for international cooperation in related matters. Some of the areas involved are registration of orbital elements, use of radio frequencies, termination of radio transmission from satellites, the problems posed by "spent" satellites which have completed their useful life, reentry and recovery of space vehicles, identification of space vehicles, and the possibility of extra-terrestrial contamination through the use of space vehicles. Most of these matters are of interest to many countries and cannot be effectively dealt with without some degree of international cooperation.

Referred to earlier in connection with the conduct of scientific research in space and implicit in some of the foregoing technical matters is an activity, the importance of which it occurs to me should be noted explicitly: the tracking of space vehicles. This activity already is and can continue to be one of widespread international cooperative effort.

Just as these technical matters affect all of the substantive fields which we have identified, the problem of effective dissemination of scientific and technical information relates to all of these fields and merits careful consideration.

Finally, attention might be given to the possibilities of mutual assistance in increasing the competence and skill of all nations in space science and technology. This matter may become increasingly significant as opportunities to participate in various aspects of space programs increase.

U.S. Working Paper on Topic 1(b)

The working paper on topic 1(b) submitted by the United States outlines the matters I have suggested here and explores in a preliminary way some types of cooperative activities which might be of interest. This paper may be useful in providing a basis for the discussions of the subcommittee which is to be concerned with this topic, and we would like to suggest that the items mentioned in this paper and in my remarks today be included in the working plan of the subcommittee with the addition, of course, of topics which may be suggested by other members.

Although the United States working paper indicates some tentative conclusions on our part respecting the peaceful uses of outer space and pos-

sible United Nations interest in and activities concerned with these peaceful uses, our paper should be viewed chiefly as an attempt to catalog some matters which it might be useful to consider. Only after a full exchange of views with other members of the committee can we hope to reach satisfactory conclusions within, of course, the limits of our present understanding of this vast field.

Mr. Chairman, in closing may I emphasize the belief of our delegation that through international cooperation ways will be found whereby the benefits of space activities will flow to all countries and all peoples.

Conference on Antarctica To Meet at Washington in October

Press release 369 dated May 28

Representatives of the Governments of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, the Union of South Africa, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America have been engaged in conversations since June 1958 in order to prepare for the conference on Antarctica to which the Government of the United States invited the other 11 Governments on May 2, 1958.¹

These 12 Governments have agreed that the conference shall convene at Washington on October 15, 1959.

United States Delegations to International Conferences

Fourth Inter-American Indian Conference

The Department of State announced on May 14 (press release 332) that Elmer F. Bennett, Under Secretary of the Interior, will head the U.S. delegation to the Fourth Inter-American Indian Conference at Guatemala City, Guatemala, May 16-25, 1959.

Other members of the delegation will include:

¹ BULLETIN of June 2, 1958, p. 910.

Alternate Delegates

Newton Edwards, Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior
Edward A. Jamison, Counselor of Embassy, American Embassy, Guatemala

Advisers

Louis J. Franke, Food and Agriculture Officer, U.S. Operations Mission, Guatemala
Paul Jones, Chairman, Navajo Tribe of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah
F. Taylor Peck, Cultural Affairs Officer, American Embassy, Guatemala
Raymond H. Rignall, Chief Education Adviser, U.S. Operations Mission, Guatemala
Charles L. von Pohle, M.D., Chief Public Health Adviser, U.S. Operations Mission, Guatemala
Clarence Wesley, Chairman, San Carlos Apache Tribe of Arizona

The conference is being convened in compliance with the convention establishing the conference and the Inter-American Indian Institute, approved at Pátzcuaro, Michoacán, Mexico, on April 24, 1940, and a resolution adopted by the Second Inter-American Indian Congress, held at Cuzco, Peru, in 1949. On May 5, 1954, the Council of the Organization of American States designated the Inter-American Indian Conference as a specialized conference of American states. This series of conferences is designed to promote the solution of inter-American Indian problems.

The conference will discuss questions of biology, economics, law, education, and social integration as they relate to the Indian populations of the member states.

22d Session of ECE Steel Committee

The Department of State announced on May 26 (press release 362) the designation of Wesley D. Hamilton, chairman of the board and president of the International Steel Co., Evansville, Ind., as the U.S. delegate to the 22d session of the Steel Committee of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), to be held at Geneva, June 2-5.

The Committee, which is one of the principal subcommittee groups of the ECE, provides a forum where experts in the field of steel may meet periodically to consider and discuss matters of common interest. This meeting will be devoted principally to a discussion of the long-term trends and problems in the European steel industry as well as the usual review of the European steel market.

Current U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography¹

Security Council

Letter Dated 5 March 1959 From the Permanent Representative of India Addressed to the President of the Security Council Concerning the Pakistani Letter of 27 January 1959 to the Security Council. S/4170. March 6, 1959. 2 pp. mimeo.

Economic and Social Council

Commission on the Status of Women. Access of Women to the Teaching Profession. Report prepared by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in collaboration with the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession. E/CN.6/345. January 27, 1959. 60 pp. mimeo.

Economic Commission for Africa. Report of the first session. E/3102. January 27, 1959. 82 pp. mimeo.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Activities of the Food and Agriculture Organization of Special Interest to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. E/CN.11/496. January 28, 1959. 17 pp. mimeo.

Commission on Human Rights. Periodic Reports on Human Rights. Memorandum from the Secretary-General. E/CN.4/776. January 29, 1959. 7 pp. mimeo.

World Economic Situation. Compendium of extracts from resolutions of the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council involving principles of international economic co-operation. E/3202. January 30, 1959. 76 pp. mimeo.

Freedom of Information: Protection of News and Other Press Information. Report by the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. E/3204. January 30, 1959. 16 pp. mimeo.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Information Paper on Technical Assistance Provided to Countries and Territories of the ECAFE Region Under the Expanded and Regular Programmes. Prepared by the TAB secretariat for the fifteenth session of ECAFE. E/CN.11/495. February 2, 1959. 36 pp. mimeo.

Freedom of Information. Media of Information in Under-Developed Countries. Report by the Secretary-General. E/3205. February 2, 1959. 13 pp. mimeo.

Freedom of Information. Observations and proposals received from specialized agencies. E/3206. February 5, 1959. 11 pp. mimeo.

Social Commission. Progress Made by the United Nations in the Social Field During the Period 1 January 1957-31 December 1958 and Proposals for the Programme of Work 1959-1961. Report by the Secretary-General. E/CN.5/334. February 16, 1959. 100 pp. mimeo.

Land Reform. E/3208. February 16, 1959. 18 pp. mimeo.

International Co-operation in Cartography. Report by the Secretary-General. E/3209. February 16, 1959. 51 pp. mimeo.

International Commercial Arbitration. Note by the Secretary-General. E/3211. February 17, 1959. 4 pp. mimeo.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Report of the Committee on Trade (Second Session) to the Commission (Fifteenth Session). E/CN.11/497. February 19, 1959. 43 pp. mimeo.

¹ Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries: Energy Development. Report on work done and recommendations. E/3212 and Corr. 1. February 27, 1959. 74 pp. mimeo.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries. Report of the Advisory Committee on the Work Programme on Industrialization to the Secretary-General. E/3213 and Add. 1. February 28 and March 12, 1959. 51 pp. mimeo.

Social Commission. Criminal Statistics: Standard Classification of Offenses. Report by the Secretariat. E/CN.5/337. March 2, 1959. 237 pp. mimeo.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries. Recent Developments Relating to New Sources of Energy and Recommendations Regarding the Agenda for an International Conference. Report by the Secretary-General. E/3218. March 6, 1959. 27 pp. mimeo.

Economic Development of Under-Developed Countries. Progress report by the Secretary-General on implementation of the work programme on industrialization. E/3219. March 6, 1959. 12 pp. mimeo.

Social Commission. Long-Range Programme of Concerted International Action in the Field of Low-Cost Housing and Related Community Facilities. Report by the Secretary-General. E/CN.5/339. March 9, 1959. 31 pp. mimeo.

TREATY INFORMATION

United States and Canada Sign Atomic Defense Agreement

Press release 360 dated May 25

On May 22 Acting Secretary Dillon and Canadian Ambassador A. D. P. Heeney signed at Washington, D.C., an agreement for cooperation on the uses of atomic energy for mutual defense purposes. The agreement, which stems from the 1958 amendment to the U.S. Atomic Energy Act, will facilitate closer collaboration between the two Governments in planning and implementation of common defense arrangements.

Terms of the accord authorize exchange of classified information on joint defense plans, military reactors, and employment of and defense against nuclear weapons. Also provided for is the transfer to Canada of U.S.-produced nonnuclear parts of atomic weapons systems.

The terms recognize that the agreement will advance the mutual security of the two countries and relate the cooperation to their joint participation in international defense arrangements. In accordance with the terms of the Atomic Energy Act, the signed agreement must now lie before

Congress for 60 days, after which it may be brought into force by an exchange of notes between the two Governments.

The United States and Canada are already co-operating in the field of atomic energy under two agreements: one for exchange of information for mutual defense purposes and the other for co-operation in the civil uses, both signed June 15, 1955.¹

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Postal Services

Universal postal convention with final protocol, annex, regulations of execution, and provisions regarding air-mail with final protocol. Done at Ottawa October 3, 1957. Entered into force April 1, 1959. TIAS 4202. Adherence: Republic of Guinea, May 6, 1959.

Telecommunication

Telegraph regulations (Geneva revision, 1958) annexed to the international telecommunication convention of December 22, 1952 (TIAS 3266), with appendixes and final protocol. Done at Geneva November 29, 1958.² Notification of approval: Belgian Congo and Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, March 27, 1959; French territories represented by the French Overseas Postal and Telecommunication Agency, April 8, 1959; Norway, April 11, 1959.

BILATERAL

Canada

Agreement for cooperation on the uses of atomic energy for mutual defense purposes. Signed at Washington May 22, 1959. Enters into force on the date each Government receives from the other written notification that it has complied with all legal requirements.

Luxembourg

Agreement amending annex B of the mutual defense assistance agreement of January 27, 1950 (TIAS 2014). Effected by exchange of notes at Luxembourg April 21 and May 8, 1959. Entered into force May 8, 1959.

Thailand

Agreement for the loan of a destroyer escort to Thailand. Effected by exchange of notes at Bangkok May 19, 1959. Entered into force May 19, 1959.

Uruguay

Agreement supplementing the agricultural commodities agreement of February 20, 1959 (TIAS 4179), and exchange of notes. Signed at Montevideo May 21, 1959. Entered into force May 21, 1959.

¹ Treaties and Other International Acts Series 3305, 3304, and 3771.

² Not in force.

DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

Confirmations

The Senate on May 28 confirmed John M. Cabot to be Ambassador to Brazil (for biographic details, see Department of State press release 351 dated May 21) and John M. Raymond to be the representative of the United States on the United Nations Commission on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Wealth and Resources.

The Senate on May 14 confirmed Harold M. Randall to be representative of the United States to the eighth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

PUBLICATIONS

German War Documents Released

The Department of State announced on May 19 (press release 335 dated May 15) the release of *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, Series C (1933-1937), Volume II, The Third Reich: First Phase, October 14, 1933-June 13, 1934*. This is the 12th volume of the cooperative project of the United States, Great Britain, and France, publishing authoritative texts of documents from the archives of the German Foreign Office captured by Allied forces at the close of World War II.

The volume begins with October 14, 1933, when the German Government officially proclaimed its withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and from the League of Nations. It ends with June 13, 1934, the eve of Hitler's meeting with Mussolini at Venice.

The 506 documents of this volume are printed in chronological order. There is a descriptive list arranged by topics to guide those who may wish to read on particular subjects.

During the period covered by this volume the German Government concluded the nonaggression pact with Poland (January 26, 1934) while, on the other hand, relations with Soviet Russia deteriorated. Despite the growing political estrangement between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, Red army leaders continued to express admiration and sympathy for the Reichswehr (documents 47, 176, and 191).

As has been the practice throughout the cooperative tripartite project, the British, French, and U.S. editors have jointly made the selection of the documents here

published, and they jointly share the responsibility for these choices. Under a reciprocal arrangement some of the volumes are edited and printed by the British and some by the U.S. Government. This volume has been edited by U.S. editors and printed at the Government Printing Office. A British edition, put in bound form from flat sheets printed at the Government Printing Office and shipped to Great Britain, is being released at London simultaneously with the release of the U.S. edition.

Copies of the volume, Department of State publication 6750, can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for \$3.75 each.

Recent Releases

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Address requests direct to the Superintendent of Documents, except in the case of free publications, which may be obtained from the Department of State.

The Educational Challenge in Underdeveloped Areas. Pub. 6793. International Information and Cultural Series 65. 7 pp. Limited distribution.

This is the text of an address given by Leonard J. Saccio, Deputy Director of the International Cooperation Administration, before the Conference on University Contracts Abroad at Washington, D.C., on November 13, 1958.

The 1958 Revision of East-West Trade Controls. Pub. 6797. General Foreign Policy Series 136. 51 pp. 25¢.

The 12th report to Congress on operations under the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, devoted mainly to a description of the revision of security trade controls in 1958.

Highlights of Foreign Policy Developments—1958. Pub. 6799. General Foreign Policy Series 137. 26 pp. 25¢.

Another in the popular *Background* series, this pamphlet discusses basic policies and objectives of U.S. foreign policy as well as developments with regard to specific areas or problems during 1958.

ICA—What It Is, What It Does. Pub. 6803. Economic Cooperation Series 51. 13 pp. 15¢.

A pamphlet explaining the function of the International Cooperation Administration and its various programs and projects throughout the world.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4172. 5 pp. 5¢.

Protocol between the United States of America and Japan, amending agreement of June 16, 1958—Signed at Washington October 9, 1958. Entered into force February 17, 1959.

Mutual Defense Assistance—Special Program of Facilities Assistance. TIAS 4174. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, amending agreement of June 8 and 15, 1954, as extended. Exchange of notes—Signed at London February 3 and 13, 1959. Entered into force February 13, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4175. 8 pp. 10¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Turkey—Signed at Ankara February 13, 1959. Entered into force February 13, 1959. With related exchange of notes.

Atomic Energy—Cooperation for Civil Uses. TIAS 4176. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and China, amending agreement of July 18, 1955—Signed at Washington December 8, 1958. Entered into force March 2, 1959.

Surplus Agricultural Commodities. TIAS 4177. 3 pp. 5¢.

Agreement between the United States of America and Yugoslavia, amending agreement of January 5, 1955, as amended. Exchange of notes—Signed at Belgrade September 10 and 11, 1958. Entered into force September 15, 1958.

Check List of Department of State Press Releases: May 25-31

Press releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Releases issued prior to May 25 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 332 of May 14, 334 and 335 of May 15, and 346 of May 21.

No.	Date	Subject
†359	5/25	GATT tariff negotiations announced for 1960.
360	5/25	Atomic defense agreement with Canada.
†361	5/26	Emergency aid to Uruguay.
362	5/26	Delegate to ECE Steel Committee (rewrite).
*363	5/26	Foster confirmed as IAEA representative (biographic details).
*364	5/26	Argentine meat processing technicians to visit U.S.
†365	5/26	DLF loan to Korea (rewrite).
366	5/27	Foreign Ministers' tributes to Dulles.
367	5/27	Foreign Ministers' arrival statements, Washington.
†368	5/27	DLF loan to Tunisia (rewrite).
369	5/28	Conference on Antarctica.
*370	5/28	Educational exchange (Argentina, Finland, Greece, Korea, India, Nigeria).
†371	5/28	DLF loan to Haiti (rewrite).
372	5/28	U.K. relaxes dollar import restrictions.
*373	5/28	Morrow nominated ambassador to Guinea (biographic details).
374	5/28	Herter: departure statement.
*375	5/28	Itinerary for King Baudouin.
†376	5/29	Dillon: "The Role of Private Business in Furthering U.S. Foreign Policy."
*377	5/29	Foreign Ministers' arrival statement, Geneva.
378	5/29	U.S. refutes Khrushchev allegations.

*Not printed.

†Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.

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The Department of State recently released *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1941, Volume II, Europe*, one of a series of seven volumes giving the documentary record of the diplomacy of the United States for the year 1941. Volume I, covering general multilateral subjects and the Soviet Union, and Volume IV, on the Far East, have already been published. The new volume, dealing almost entirely with problems arising from the war in Europe, has sections on relations with Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, and Yugoslavia. Slightly more than half the volume relates to France.

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